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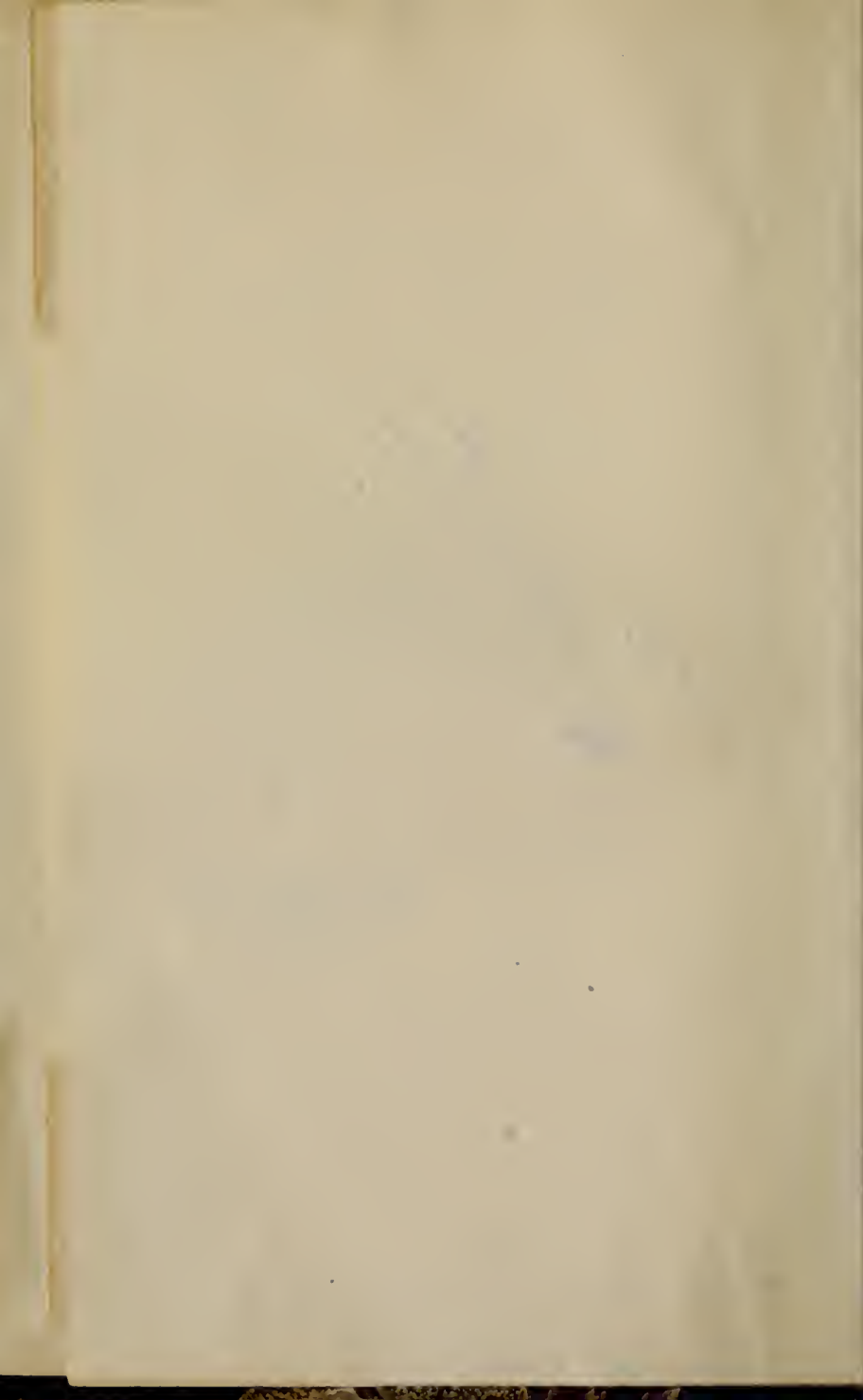
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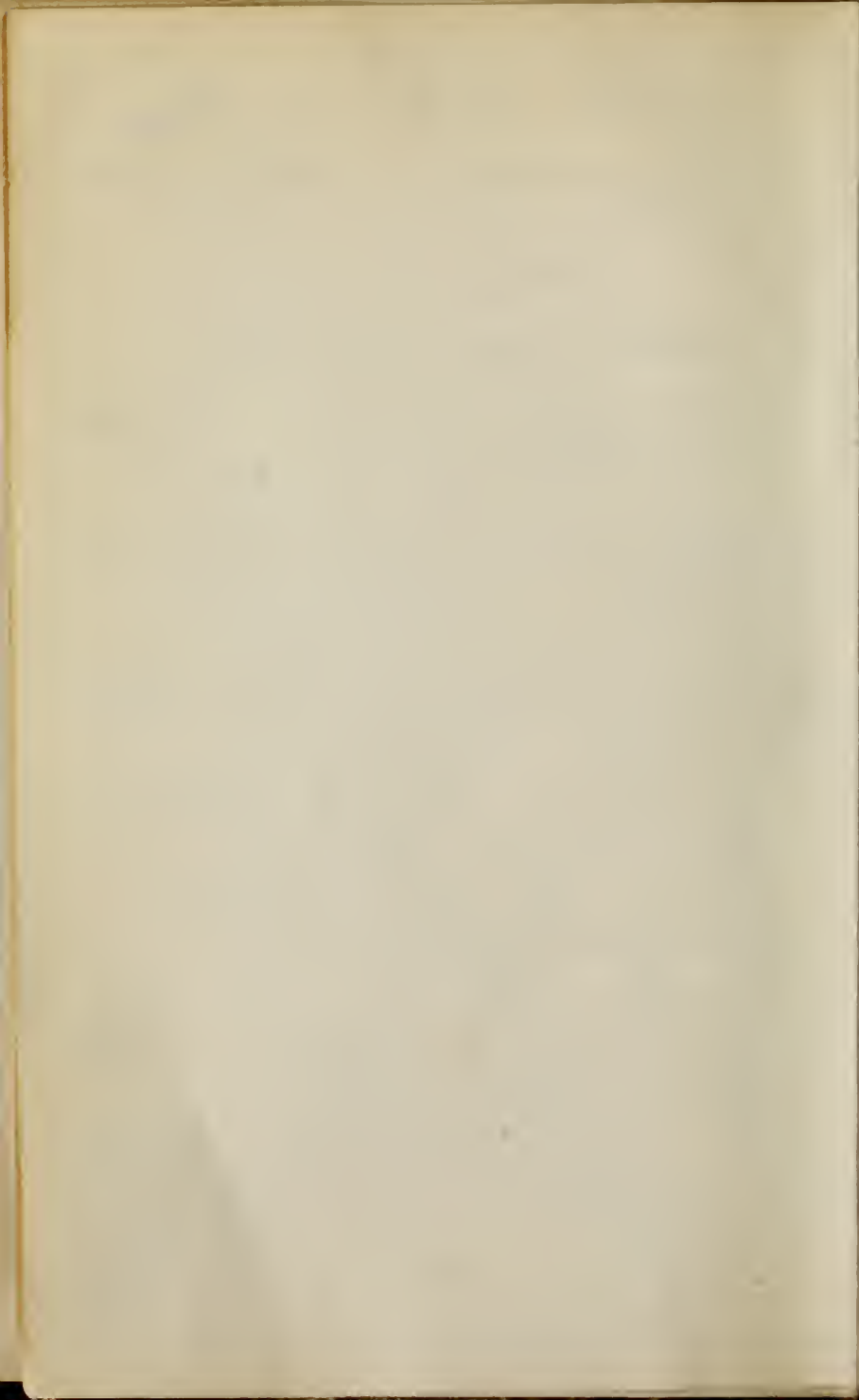


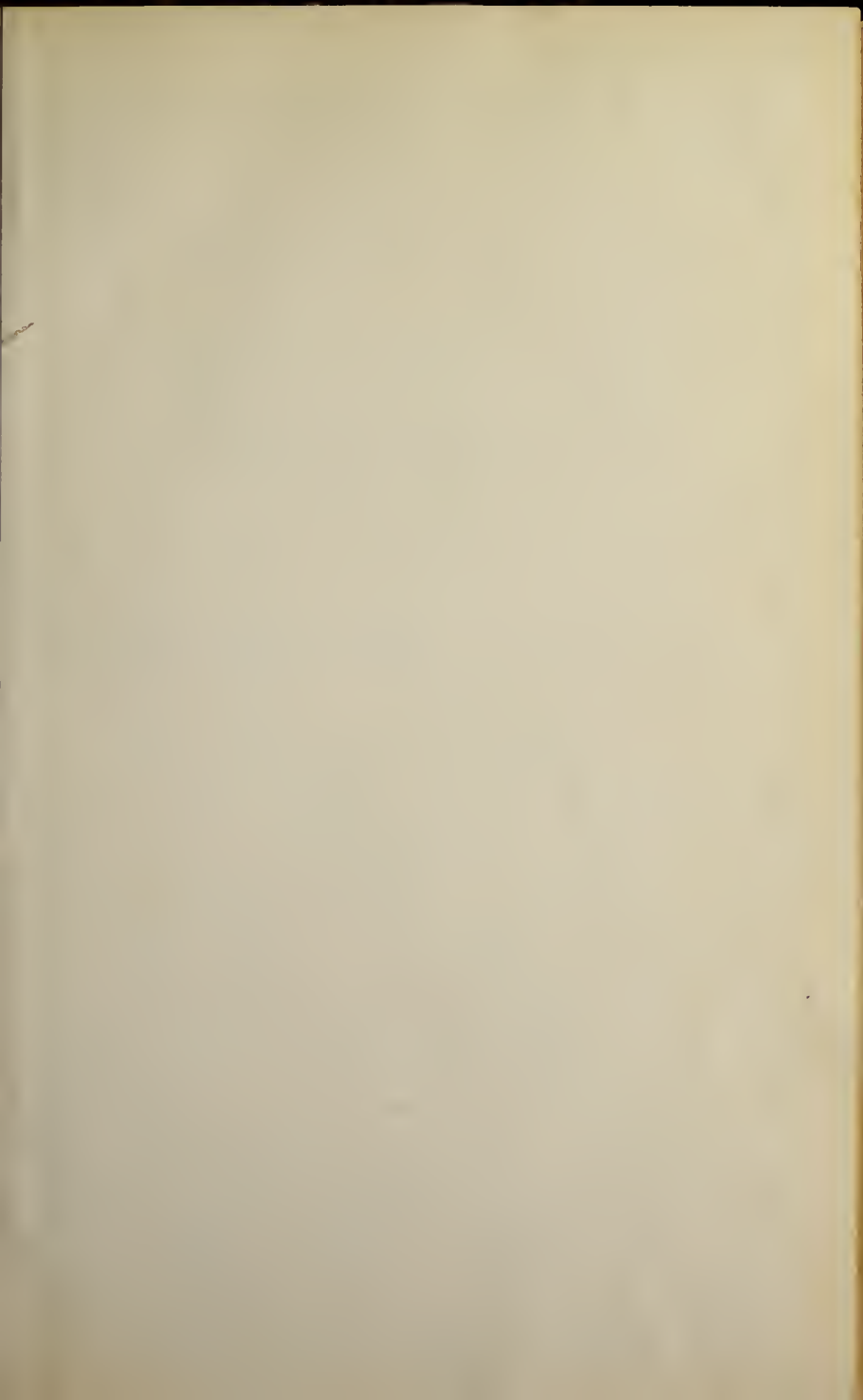


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INV. 1898

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2. ✓ The constitution and union ✓
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THE NATIONAL CRISIS.



A LETTER

TO THE

HON. MILTON S. LATHAM,

SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA, IN WASHINGTON,

BY ANGLO-CALIFORNIAN.

FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO BULLETIN, Feb. 4th, 1861.

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THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

*To the Hon. Milton S. Latham, Senator for California—
Washington :*

DEAR SIR :—Sometimes an interested spectator sees more of a battle than the actual combatants. In the struggle which threatens to sever a powerful and hitherto compact confederacy of Sovereign States on this continent, an observer may perceive elements for hope in the future, even should the political difference of the present culminate in disunion.

I.

Some years ago, while attempting a criticism of De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, I was necessarily led to the investigation of the political economy of the United States, and arrived at conclusions which seemed to have escaped that distinguished writer. It appeared to me that certain elements existed in the confederacy, which sooner or later would produce disunion. It is threatened earlier than I supposed it would take place, and the movement to effect it comes from a quarter opposite to that which (looking at the matter from a foreigner's point of view) I thought the movement would first spring. I anticipated that on the occurrence of a rupture of the American Confederacy, the demand for disunion would come from the North, and not from the South.

At the same time it did *not* seem, after placing the subject in every light which occurred to me, that even disunion, if it could be accom-

plished without civil war, would work material injury to either division as to their external interest; while it offered to both a prospect of greatly increased internal cohesion and solidification, within themselves.

In times of national upheaval, calm words, (the mere expression of reason) from their very dispassionateness, sound tamely; yet, if ever in the history of a people there are times when its leaders should rise above contending factions and seek the higher ranges of thought, where, freed from the fogs of the strife below, they can take broad and clear views, and can look back over the great plains of history, crowded with the panorama of human life for centuries, whence come the voices of experience, telling how nations have done in the past, from which is gained the knowledge of what nations should do in the future, it is when popular excitement runs wildly amongst the masses of men around them, with whom any frenzy is contagious, cumulative by repetition, and destructive of the ordinary common sense of the national mind.

Though not technically a citizen, yet having lived for more than half a generation in the Union, with all my interests bound up in the welfare and progress of its people, I trust an expression of my views, so far as they may recall the analogies of history, and show a correct appreciation of the current course of events, will not be taken amiss.

II.

In physical science, whenever the movements, combinations or forces of matter present the same uniform phenomena, those uniform conditions are termed, laws; they are the conditions of its existence, the courses appointed by the great Creator, in which it obediently runs. The recollection of these laws is of primary importance to investigations in natural philosophy.

In political science, it is equally useful to remember what unvarying phenomena attend the progress of human events, and are the characteristics of men associated as nations. It is from history—taking the term in its broadest sense—we ascertain what these are. Though incapable of definition, with the precision of physical laws, and constantly changing with the advancing intelligence of men, yet, from them certain axiomatic truths are derivable, which can be accepted as guides by the student of political economy. As applicable to the present subject, I think the following propositions will be considered as unquestionable truths:

That a successful nationality must be composed of homogeneous

materials—of men of the same ethnological* type, inhabiting a country the physical conditions of which, as to soil and climate, do not greatly vary.

That the sentiment known as patriotism, love of country or loyalty—which is the cement of nationality—exists in nations in the inverse ratio to their geographical extent, and cosmopolitan character of their people, being the strongest in countries limited in size, and inhabited by men greatly resembling each other, and differing from the people of other nations.

That the average intellectual cultivation of a people determines the form of Government best suited to them; the higher the standard, the more popular may be the Government. As their average intelligence descends in grade, concentration of power in fewer hands, is necessary for the national progress and well-being.†

That national distinctions between men who spring from the same general race, are wholly educational. These differences, which, when brought into active force, create national animosities and wars, arise entirely from differing modes of training, association of ideas, habits of thought and habits of action, which in fact comprise education; and which again are, to a great extent, molded upon the physical conditions of the countries which nations respectively occupy.

That MASS and CLASS governments are natural antagonisms. Democracy (*demos*, the people, *kratein*, to govern—the government of the masses) and Aristocracy (*aristos*, the bravest or noblest—*aristokratia*, the rule of the chief people) represent practically, irreconcilable principles in the administration of national affairs; which antagonisms have always been the most demonstrative in republics.

That into a Democracy a race of men inferior to the masses, cannot be admitted without a violation of its first principles. As the Government rests in the whole people, so the whole must be eligible to govern. No class (in numbers) may be introduced which, from the natural incapacity of its members, or from ethnological antipathies, is unfitted to

* I use *ethno* as meaning the varieties of the human race, and the word *race*, where it occurs, as meaning an admitted and acknowledged type of variety.

† By *average intelligence*, I mean the knowledge spread throughout the masses of the people—that aggregate of knowledge which swells to a great amount from the numbers of people who know, rather than the elevation of knowledge which is enjoyed by a few. A community composed of Lord Brougham, Edward Everett, Charles Anthon, and ten thousand Hottentots, would be one in which the average intelligence would be exceedingly low, although within it almost all human knowledge might be comprised. Whereas, ten thousand New England mechanics, educated in the public schools, would present a community of a very high average, though perhaps not one of them might possess more than a rudimentary knowledge of modern science.

rule, or whose rule would be revolting to the prejudices of the body of the people.

That the extreme types of men will not amalgamate, or, if forced so to do, the tendency of the offspring (which is to degenerate and become extinct) proves that a natural law has been violated.

I think that these propositions are self-evident.

III.

The inauguration of the American Commonwealth was aptly termed "the great experiment." With the single exception of a few Swiss cantons, the world had not seen a DEMOCRATIC republic, until the New England States had achieved their independence, and abolished slavery. There had not previously existed an example of a nation, in which the governing power rested in, and emanated from, the whole people equally, by admitted constitutional right. There has scarcely been an historical period without its republic, from the Israelites under their Judges, from the classic clusters which crowded ancient Greece and rendered illustrious that age and people, from Republican Rome, through Venice, Genoa, Switzerland, Holland and the American Union, down to the burlesque nationalities of Central America; but nowhere can the student of history, up to this day, place his finger upon a simple democratic republic, until the Northern Commonwealths of the United States were formed, except the Swiss cantons just alluded to; and, even now, many of those cantons are so strongly tempered with the ancient aristocratic element, as to be more in form than in spirit, pure democracies.

What, then, are the Southern Republics of America? Are they not democratic? History does not disclose any communities less so. In whatever country are found two classes of men—the one superior in power and privileges, the other without political power and unprivileged, but nevertheless forming a large proportion of the mass of the population—there is presented the phenomenon of an aristocratic and plebeian class, in the plainest acceptance of the terms. It is immaterial how these different classes originated; whether the dominant class became so from ancient use, and hereditary, slowly growing and continually conceded encroachments; or by force of arms and conquest; or by superior intelligence, subjecting the masses physically, through partial laws, or spiritually, by impressing and enthraling their imagination; or from positively superior natures operating upon natures more feebly constituted. The result is the same, and develops the fact of an aristocratic and exclusive class, distinguished from, and holding in subjugation the commonality or the plebeian class.

Neither the color nor race of the superior, nor of the inferior class, nor the disparity between the two in their respective communities—the comparative elevation of the one, or the degradation of the other—affect this general definition. The lower, may possess a natural and political capacity for acquiring wealth and influence, and thus rising into and forming a part of the governing class, as in most of the monarchies of modern Europe; they may be held as serfs of the monarch or of the soil, as in Russia, or in an impassable religious conventional degradation, as in India; or they may exist, as in ancient Rome at the close of her republican era, in a bondage merely physical, but without any ban, social or religious, inevitably forbidding their rise; or in a slavery combining social inferiority as impassable as that of the sudra of Hindostan, with a physical bondage as complete as that of the Roman slave, as in the case of the colored population of the Southern States of America—the differences are unimportant to the definition now stated. The subordinate order held in subjection, the dominant order, their superiors, exempt from, and yet subsisting upon, their labors directly or indirectly, make the fact. Those, are the democratic or plebeian grade; these, the aristocratic or patrician, *within their respective communities*. It is the existence of a privileged and dominant class in any country, whether civilized or barbarian, in the presence of a numerically large but inferior class, which is destitute of political power and personal equality, which constitutes an aristocracy.

The peculiar characteristics of an aristocratic class are essentially the same in all countries, and have existed, with but little change, in every historical age. In fact, they are the natural habitudes of our common humanity thus placed, and cannot be otherwise. These characteristics are subject to modification from external influences—by religious teaching, by extending knowledge, by the spreading glory of that universal light known as civilization. These temper the effect and assuage the harshness, but leave the essence of patrician attributes unchanged. In all aristocracies we find in its members the claim, as of right, to dominance and power; the assumption of superiority; a demand for exemption from physical labor; an idea that labor is a badge of servility and, therefore, of dishonor; a desire for wealth as a necessity of superiority, coupled with a repugnance to obey the universal law under which wealth is created—by labor; a high sense of personal importance, and an intense solicitude that it should be acknowledged; an instant perception of personal insult, and a determined spirit of vengeance; a contempt for life, not of other men alone

but of their own, upon any conditions except those which maintain their superiority and compel its recognition. (Hence the institution of "chivalry," and its spawn, the duello.) When they are compelled to gain a subsistence, they naturally turn to those avocations which common consent considers not derogatory to the chief people—such as places of honor and trust under the Government, occupations connected with the proprietorship of land, or employments possessing judicial or guiding functions, as those of judges, divines, lawyers or physicians. This instinct is developed in all aristocracies, whether in civilized or savage communities. Around these material characteristics are hung the graceful courtesies, and generally the polite accomplishments of their time and country; a gallant bearing to equals; munificence to rising inferiors; a splendid hospitality to the stranger and the guest; and a strange deafness and blindness, to the rights of the masses of men below them. To this class doubtless belong virtues and vices, which they share in common with the classes below them. I merely enumerate the peculiarities of the order, necessarily growing up with its members from their position, and resulting from their education.

A democracy, on the other hand, is an association of *all* the people, upon a common level of rights and privileges. If there be a specially endowed, a specially exempt, or an exclusively governing class, there is no democracy. The first object of a democratic aggregation is to dispense with class government, and to retain in the hands of the whole people its entire sovereignty. Its direct consequence is to distinguish with honor, the station and occupation of its greatest numbers—the workers and their work; which is the extreme opposite of the intent and effect of an aristocracy. The masses of men labor everywhere. The sovereign power must be dignified, and those in whom it resides share its dignity. The laborer and his labor are inseparable; therefore must labor be ennobled. One of the missions of modern democracy, is, to emblazon upon the front of its nationality, that labor is honorable in itself as well as the source of power—as that nationality swells in grandeur, to compel the deference of mankind to these novel tenets, and teach the world to recognize the doctrine scorned in aristocratic communities, that physical exertion lies at the foundation of empire; that laborers who rear its fabric may of right occupy its high places; that they are at once their own commonalty, and aristocracy—peers of their realm, and of each other—subjects to their Constitution, but sovereigns in themselves.

There are three test points of a true democracy:—equality of political station amongst the people, (if not present, yet attainable, as in the case

of the young, or aliens, by time, or by compliance with regulative conditions; the elevation of physical labor to an equal power with intellectual labor; and the privilege of free utterance upon all political, moral, and social matters. So unerringly do these characteristics indicate a simple democracy, that it is not too much to say, they cannot exist except in one; nor is any community democratic, to which they will not affirmatively apply.

None of these characteristics applies to the southern republics of the United States. In them, there cannot be equality of political station amongst the people; labor is not held in honor, but in contempt; and free utterance would be madness. No test of simple democracy finds a response within them. They are complete aristocracies, and find prototype and parallel, more or less, in every aristocratic republic which has yet existed. Between ancient Attica, as daguerreotyped in history, and South Carolina, for instance, there is a singular similarity. In both, the governing classes form but a small proportion of the whole population; in both are those classes polished, eloquent, petulant, more magnificent in conception than in execution,* and fond of change; in both are found an inferior free class, and a slave class of immensely preponderating numbers. In both is there the same impatience of disagreeable truth. For impolitic truth-telling, the Athenians ostracised the Areopagite Aristides; and South Carolina bludgeoned Senator Sumner. In both, the barbarous acts were exulted in at the time, and regretted afterwards. The Athenian Republic was beyond doubt purely aristocratic, and may be accepted as the prototype of all republics down to 1776, with, as already explained, the Swiss exception.

Let any thoughtful man apply a democratic test to South Carolina—that, for instance, of freedom of speech. In simple democracies, where there is nothing to be hid, men are educated to speak the thoughts of their hearts—to reason aloud. Where this is permitted, freedom is guaranteed; for wrongs, however existing, find voices which human nature, perpetually appealed to, cannot resist. Such is the freedom of the Northern States, but such cannot be the freedom of the South. So long as millions of strong men are held, docile in a bondage with which

* Exceedingly characteristic is the following from the Charleston Mercury, the morning after the Star of the West had been fired into—the first blow in the contest. Were the occasion adequate, the language would be Demosthenic—"We would not exchange or recall that blow for millions! It has wiped out a half century of scorn and outrage. Again South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her own present honour. The haughty echo of her cannon has ere this reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet of the North and down along the great waters of the Southwest."

their ignorance of any other condition makes them content, free discussion upon almost any political subject would be dangerous. Like illuminating a powder magazine with open torches, it would almost invite an explosion, which friend and foe must equally deprecate. [It is surely evident that the Creator did not intend man, even of the lowest type, to be made a chattel, or he would not have endowed him with the capacity to understand the language of other men, and to reason upon what he hears. Before one's horse, or dog, or steam-engine, one is under no restraint; but he that owns a reasoning slave, must surrender a portion of his own liberty to secure the servitude of his chattel—his liberty of speech.] Happy are the people whose social superstructure is incombustible—who may carry the bright and even fiery light of free discussion, from its foundation to its dome!

But were the South to abolish slavery to-morrow, were the negroes to be free—nay, to go a step further, suppose they were all to be educated—could the Southern Republics be democracies, with such an immense proportion of a different and inferior type of men among them? I think not. Ethnological repulsions, the unconquerable antipathy of race, would prevent the negro's admittance to equality with the white man, in political power and privilege. It seems impossible, in the nature of things, that "the Ethiop can so change his skin" as to be eligible to govern the State. Until the negro race becomes an inconsiderable fragment of the whole population, (so as to become merely an exception to the rule) in any Southern State, *its republicanism must be aristocratic*.

Europeans regard these antipathies as prejudices merely, and possibly they are right; but in national affairs what are prejudices? They are substantialities, often of the most indestructible character. They are absolute tangibilities, as much so as the laws, the religion or the language of a people. More tenacious than these, they are often found lingering amongst men, whose very nationality has been obliterated by conquest, whose religion has changed, whose language has been lost—but whose prejudices defy extinction and flourish in fragments with the historical memories of their fallen country. That the prejudices of the white man, are set against the equality of the negro, is, *in the white man's country*, a sufficient reason for placing him in an inferior political condition.

IV.

There has been a constant contention in all ages between the aristocratic and the democratic elements of society—the former seeking to maintain their power, the latter to abridge it, and sink its possessors to

a common level. This contention has always been the most vigorous in republics. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, were the battle-fields of this struggle, during a great part of their existence. In Rome, the patrician overrode the plebeian, and when the commoners gained the ascendancy carried the republic into imperialism. "*They would never submit!*" In Florence, Genoa and Venice, democracy only reared its head to be strangled. In France, the contest culminated in national madness, and had to be restrained by despotism. In England, since the time of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, the democratic current, like a full though quiet stream, has been gradually washing away the aristocratic embankments, reared by the higher classes.

There is nothing more marked in history, than the conflict of these elements. We may ask, *why on this continent, and in this age, the antagonism should cease?* Why the Northern republics—the most ultra of democracies; should harmonize with the Southern republics—the most intense of aristocracies? It is a striking proof of the wisdom of the founders of the American confederation, that the discordant elements have combined for three-quarters of a century. It is true that they only come into actual contact at the federal center, where it may be supposed that the wisest and coolest men of both sections meet. But this contact, slight as it is, and carefully guarded, is enough to produce continual effervescence, and convert the common Senate chambers of the Union, into mere arenas for the strife of incompatible principles. The southerner comes to Washington, full of the *hauteur* and idea of domination, which have been educated in him, by the contact of slavery, and which he feels ought to be recognized. He meets the Northerner, who has been taught to deny superiority to any man, unless for actual personal achievement and self-built eminence—to whom the natural pretensions of the South are akin to insolence—who refuses to concede honor, to the wearers of knightly spurs, except they have *won* them, and who look upon their purchase or inheritance, almost with contempt. It is impossible for men thus differing, to unite usefully in a common object, when that object continually evokes their antagonistic peculiarities.

I cannot avoid the conclusion that this discordance is the cause of the threatened severance of the Union, and not the existence of slavery in the Southern States. Slavery is the remote, the educational, but not the immediate cause. Its abolition in the South, (unless accompanied by the removal of the inferior race, and the re-education of the

white population in the democratic principles of equality,) would not reconcile the contestants.

The dullest observer may see, that the dissimilarities of the extremes of North and South are yearly increasing. At the time of the union, they were less violent than at present. The education of the junior generations in the east is tending to augment the diversity. National distinctions while wholly educational, are cumulative up to a certain point. Take an example in France and England. The people are of one common type. They have had distinct and various interests, and a separate existence. Different modes of thought, habits of life, and habits of action, have from age to age impressed the people of each nation, until, like two branches from a common root, they have grown up in divergent directions, and in those directions have each become confirmed and massive trunks. The youth of each, educated separately, prolong the diversity from generation to generation. To bind those nations into a unity of political opinion and purpose, involves the long process of uneducating and re-educating the people. Although they may unite occasionally as nations, in cases where they have a common purpose to accomplish, yet the condition of their friendship is to keep (nationally) as separate, as possible.

Between Massachusetts and South Carolina, taking them as types of the different nationalities of North and South, there is a striking dissimilarity. There is more affinity, more points of mutual attraction, between New Englanders and the middle classes of Great Britain, than between the former and the Carolinians. In fact, except as to certain notions as to the form of government, the first two are the same. Not only in race, language, and religion, have they a common identity, but in both is there the same love of freedom and of absolutely free expression; the same indomitable and active personal industry, and love of useful enterprise; the same instinct of thrift, and acquisitiveness; the same spirit of enquiry, and investigation. They cherish the same home comforts, and revere the same domestic virtues; they mutually dislike the gorgeous, but inutile spirit of chivalry; under a plodding exterior life, both carry a dormant enthusiasm, which, when evoked, renders them capable of sublime self-abnegation. Docile in peace, invincible in war, their masses are the happiest examples, and their leaders the foremost apostles, of human progress. Yet notwithstanding this almost perfect homogeneousness, the seventy-five years of separate national education which have intervened, would render a union of these peoples now unnatural and unsuccessful. Distinct nationalities *must be* the condition of their friendship.

As illustrative of the correctness of the opinion, that the differences between North and South do not immediately spring from the existence of slavery, the citizens of California have had a practical example. There have been here men from the North and the South, but no slavery. The Northerners, following their educational instincts, commenced to work out their fortunes by developing the resources of the country—exploring, building, trading, mining, farming, and pursuing the mechanic arts. The Southerners, taking their natural bent, sought the same end in governing, advising and directing the rest. They have been our legislators, statesmen, lawyers and government officials,—but scarcely in any case, mechanics, traders, miners or farmers. Between the two classes, there have been continual, though not demonstrative, antipathies. In the political field, our cavaliers met their Roundhead, in the person of the Cromwell of California—D. C. Broderick—whose energetic labors to overthrow their power, are well remembered. He lost his life, it is true, by submitting in a moment of weakness to a cavalier ordeal—that of skill with the pistol—but, like his prototype, for the time being he accomplished his purpose. To a bystander, the essential, undisguised differences between the men of the North and the South, have been as patent as the distinctions between English and French. The Southerner in California, when not in a political majority—when not of the ruling power—floats as a sort of uncombined element in the social mass; his heart is with his native State, his feelings follow the bent of his early training, and he takes pride in exhibiting his distinctions in the face of the majority by which he is overborne. “He will never submit!”—it is not natural to him. We have had the principles of the American struggle epitomized and dramatized, in California, and yet there has been no slavery.

The fact, that the pretext for the severance of North and South lies in a dispute as to the destinies of the common property—the Territories—does not alter, the idea now expressed. The North conceives that slavery is incompatible with democratic institutions, and that on the same soil, they cannot successfully coëxist. The people of the North design to make these Territories, the homes of white working men. The existence of slavery in the presence of free laboring men, is an insult to their daily life, as it degrades physical toil, by making it the special avocation of slaves, and creates in the mind and habits of the slaveholder, as an inevitable consequence, a sense and display of superiority over those who labor; which is felt by free working men educated in democracies, to be intolerable. If the Territories were

tropical swamps, unfit for white men to work in, the North probably would care nothing for their destiny. But the admission of the aristocracy-fostering institution, into a country fitted by nature to be a home for democracy, is equivalent to surrendering it entirely. The old antagonism of democracy forbids such a concession to the aristocratic section, even where, as in this case, the latter are entitled, in justice, to at least a share of the common estate. Sometimes democracies 'will never submit.'

The quarrel of the American crisis has been happily and tersely epigrammized by Senator Benjamin of Louisiana, in his celebrated exclamation—"The South will never submit!" The Presidential contest of 1856 gave warning of the growing power of the North. In the election of Lincoln in 1860, it was discovered that the power had grown in strength. History taught the South, that the nature of that power was, to continue growing. For more than half a century the aristocratic element of the South, always cohesive around the center of its specialty, and politically adroit by long training, had ruled the Union. The North, though huge in numbers, trained in democratic principles, submitted, as it had been taught, to the will of the majority throughout those years. But the first time the aristocracies of the South are outvoted, and find themselves powerless, they will withdraw. "The South will never submit!" Aristocracy never did willingly. It must rule, or retire. Of what use to it are masses of men, if they cannot be controlled?

V.

It is everywhere admitted that the same kind of government, which serves the purposes of the Northern republic will not do for the South. For the North, the means of conducting foreign relations, of suppressing crime, and adjusting disputes between its citizens by law, is all the government that is needed. If the people so lack intelligence as to require more ruling than this, they are ripe for democratic institutions. The Southern republics have had a legacy bequeathed to them in slavery, which has created governmental necessities entirely different, and of infinite difficulty. There, a host of a strange race has to be kept in bondage, and made profitable. A popular government is impossible; a class rule, imperative. The larger the slave population becomes, the more infallibly will the government be concentrated—the stronger, and more despotic is it required. An aristocracy has an element of strength which democracy does not possess—except, perhaps,



during the continuance of a foreign war. It stands continually armed, as in the presence of a common enemy. It has a common purpose to accomplish, which is to keep the inferior class under its feet. From this cause, aristocratic governments have always exhibited that distinct and direct self-energy, which springs from unity of purpose. If the Southern republics are to retain slavery, and continue to prosper, the circle of the governing classes, instead of expanding, will contract. Athens, under her Archons, furnishes a splendid example of an aristocratic republic, maintaining itself for many centuries, keeping the while in subjection a slave population, variously estimated at from five to twenty times the number of the privileged classes, and, notwithstanding the excitable and unstable character of her people, progressing to a wonderful pitch of power and prosperity. Its government was a concentrated oligarchy.

The Southern republics of America, are much more dangerously placed than were the republics of Greece, and need governments at least equally despotic. They are surrounded by lively, talkative, somewhat intermeddling democracies as neighbors, whose great hobby is freedom—freedom of speech, of action, of person, and of electoral choice—freedom to go everywhere, see everything, and do everything; who are blessed with a fatal intuition for finding out weak spots, hitting sore places, and treading on carefully covered corns, and whose passion is to alter everything, in search of improvement.

One can easily imagine how a haughty people, holding an immense servile population in bondage, by a tenure which the present humor of civilization repudiates, should live in continual terror of these unceremonious freemen, and should desire to get away from them as far and as fast as possible.

Unquestionably, the people of the South know what is best for themselves. How can *Northern* men judge for them? *Their* dwellings are not built upon the volcanic foundation of millions of men held in unwilling servitude. *Their* goods and chattels cannot reason, or take murderous impulses. *They* are not haunted by the skeletons which hang in the closets of the South—they do not hear that shaking of gaunt bones, telling fearfully of danger, which carries dismay to the Southern heart. *They* have not had a giant nursed for them, and bequeathed to them, which they *must* control or permit it to strangle them. If the Southerner, replete as he is with intelligence, decides upon a political course for himself, the Northerner may accept it as *proven*, that that course is the wisest and best for him. It is asking too much of human

nature—especially of aristocratic human nature—to require it to forego what it deems most to its own advantage, out of consideration for the good of the democratic masses, by which it has been outvoted.

VI.

What is Secession, so-termed? *It is the act of a nation changing its form of government.* In separating from the American Union, the people of South Carolina adopt a new form of government, and elect new rulers to administer their national affairs. They refuse to be ruled by the North, through the federal power; they exercise their right and privilege of rejecting a form under which they will not live, and choosing a system which they prefer.

The right of nations to choose, or change, their own form of government, and their own rulers, has become a fundamental—nay, more, *the* fundamental law of civilized nationalities. In ancient history, we find a reiteration of this right, running for centuries amongst the freest and most enlightened nations, whose records have been preserved. It does not seem to have been disputed. Rome, for instance, commenced as a rude monarchy. Its government in seven hundred years changed its form to aristocratic republicanism, concentrated that again under Dictators, Decemviri and Consuls. Sometimes the Tribunes of the People ruled; sometimes, Aristocratic triumvirates. Finally, she returned to imperialism, under her four centuries of emperors. I cannot remember a single expression in the records of Latin history and literature, which even questions the right of the Roman people to make those changes. They are repeatedly deplored, but it did not seem to enter into the mind of the historians and writers of that period, to question the right of the people to make, or consent to them.

During the dreary centuries which succeeded the dismemberment of that power—in the “dark ages”—sundry preposterous heresies to common sense sprang into life; and, amongst them, the dogma of the “divine right of kings” to rule independent of a people’s choice. This absurdity, which was nurtured into strength by the side of its twin dogma in ecclesiastical affairs—the “apostolic succession”—(as though piety were hereditary, and the sublimities of Christianity could only be perpetuated by human rotation in office, as if the standard-bearers of the Cross should necessarily be the most successful intriguers of an intriguing priesthood)—smothered for centuries, and smothered in some countries to this day, the fundamental law, which ordains that a nation shall of right choose its own rulers. This law, which had fallen into

desuetude, was reasserted by the League of the Grisons in the fourteenth century, and reinstated as a European element on the field of Sempach, upon the dead body of Leopold of Austria. The glorious republic of Switzerland has nursed it into modern strength.

Holland, in 1575, asserted this right under William the Silent, and after a long struggle shook off the yoke of Spain, and the fetters of the Inquisition. For two centuries the sturdy Dutchmen maintained this principle—sometimes with Stadtholders, sometimes without; at one time, under a Grand Pensionary; and latterly under a monarchy. England asserted it, in 1653, under Cromwell, and, in 1688, under William of Orange. Poland perished in a similar endeavor. Sweden asserted it, in 1521, under Gustavns Vasa; and, in 1810, in the choice of Bernadotte. The United States established it on this continent, in 1776. France followed, in 1790, and continually since. Chile adopted it, in 1819; Mexico, in 1821, under Iturbide; Peru, in 1823; Belgium (a forcible example, and notable precedent in the present crisis,) in 1830; and the list (of which these are only the chief instances) closes with the recent action of the Duchies of Northern Italy, and Naples, in the Garibaldian war.

In these instances, (with the exception of Poland, whose fate is the commiseration of free men the world over,) this great right was not only asserted, but was in every case admitted, sooner or later, by contemporaneous powers. Louis Napoleon, "by the grace of God and the will of the French people, Emperor, &c," is its modern champion; and its last exponent is the Cabinet of Great Britain. The ink is scarcely dry in Lord John Russell's celebrated despatch to the British Minister at Turin, in which this fundamental law is distinctly recognized and applied. It has become, and is, the fundamental law of civilized nationalities.

Is it reserved for America—for her Northern commonwealths, whose adherence to this doctrine, has been sealed by the blood of their founders, for the freest of all democracies, the very breath of whose nostrils is the right of choice—to deny and abrogate this great political law, when its exercise is attempted by their brethren of the Southern republics? By many, the *right* of Secession is denied; its attempt is denounced as treason, to be punished and resisted by force—by fratricidal war. It is asserted that the Southern republics shall not do, in 1861, as the Northern commonwealths themselves did, in 1776; and as the most enlightened of modern nations have done, for the last five centuries. Shall this noble RIGHT which has been nursed by patriots of all

lands, and handed down from sire to son as the foremost legacy of freedom, the adoption and recognition of which is the brightest trait of modern civilization—shall this right, here, in the home and heritage of freemen, be struck down and annihilated, by men whose fathers died in planting it, and who have hitherto protected and cherished it?

Are South Carolina, or Georgia, or Louisiana, nations or not? If they are, are Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania despots, that they should act towards them as Austria would to Venetia, or Hungary, or Russia to Poland, and compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to forego their *right* of choice—force them to retain a form of government, which they refuse to live under? It weakens the argument to add, that the same right of choice which was exercised by the Southern republics in voluntarily joining the Union, may logically be re-exercised in withdrawing from it. IT IS ENOUGH THAT A NATION'S CHOICE IS NATIONALLY EXPRESSED FOR OTHER NATIONS TO ACQUIESCE.

It is trifling, to assert as analogical, that if South Carolina may withdraw from the Union, a county may segregate itself from a State, or a town declare its independence of a county. In the one case, it is a sovereignty which chooses—a national entirety, the right of which to choose, is an international axiom; in the other, it would be a mere fragment of a nation, splitting itself from the main trunk.

It will be said that although the right of nations to choose their own form of government, is admitted by all civilized people, (except those governed by despotisms) yet the recognition of this right is withheld, until the party choosing, has made good his selection by force. I admit that this is the European addendum to the law. It is tantamount to giving a privilege only, to those who are strong enough to take it without permission. It is conceding justice to those only, who have the most guns, and can take the best aim—who can convince their opponents, not by reason, but by slaughter. Such an illogical condition has clung to the skirts of this national right, since it emerged from the ignorance of the mediæval era. It is a part of the filth of that degraded period, which has not been brushed off by modern intelligence—a remnant, a specimen, of the boasted brute chivalry which instituted the wager of battle, and the ordeal of torture, as tests of truth and innocence. Why, in the name of common sense, *must* the choice of freedom be baptised in blood? Why *must* its exercise be the signal of civil war; a cause for desolated homes, for human passions inflamed with hatred, to thirst for murder? These horrors are not the less ter-

rible because they are done in the name of patriotism by both combatants; because both simultaneously burn with fury and love of country; because each glories in the other's destruction, and in the exaltation of their common land. The processes of the Inquisition were not the less dismal to the sufferers, because they were conducted for the salvation of their souls; the motives which prompted the inquisitors then, do not now, hallow their acts or justify their cruelties. The time has gone forever when men may be torn to pieces because of their religious choice; and it is time that a political choice, should cease to be the cause of letting loose on peaceful communities the havoc of domestic warfare.

It is true that there are examples of nations, which appear to think, that civil war is necessary to give dignity to every difference of political party opinion. In Mexico, a little war, some wholesale robberies, and a limited license to soldierly lust and love of rapine, appear to be *a la mode* at each change of national officers. Unless the commercial and industrious classes, are mulcted somewhat of their earnings; unless a few hundred haciendas are harried and burnt; a thousand or so of fathers, husbands, or brothers, left to gnash their teeth over daughters, wives, or sisters, brutally violated; unless the domestic economy of the peaceful classes is reasonably outraged, and at least a respectable number of good citizens, are hanged or cut down on suspicion of disaffection to the dominant power — unless such things happen, the ambitious and pretentious misérables, who might eventually become President and Cabinet of that extensive confederacy, would feel deprived of a portion of their inaugural ceremonies. Nicaragua, Costa Rica, New Granada, Chile and Peru, all follow the chivalric notion that bloodshed is necessary to an effective political choice; and acting accordingly, they indulge in a constant succession of small wars, burnings, confiscations, reprisals, executions, common soldiery outrages, and gasconading pronunciamientos.

If I could conceive it possible that the Northern democracies of America would emulate the example of those semi-barbarous republics in this crisis, I should lose faith in humanity and feel as if long-cherished and honored friends, had suddenly become vicious imbeciles.

VII.

Union is not always strength. Detonating powder united with cement, will not add to the cohesive strength of a wall. Heterogeneous materials rear a weak fabric—built with such components, the higher

it rises, the weaker it becomes. It is thus with nations—especially with republics, and most especially with democracies. The last entirely lack the “personal interest bond ;” that active principle akin to selfishness, which in monarchies and oligarchies converts the proprietary pretensions of the royal family, or of the aristocracy, into rivets of the commonwealth.

It is obvious that the wider a democracy spreads, the more it multiplies elements of internal discord within itself ; and the freer it is, the more that discord finds expression. A wide empire requires very few sovereigns ; a central despotism is a necessity of its existence. It is about the same distance from Maine to Texas that it is from the Baltic to Gibraltar. Nearly the same number of people inhabit the former tract of country now, as in the fourteenth century populated the latter. If in that century the League of the Grisons, from which sprang the Swiss republic, had established a number of democracies over that extent of Europe ; had bound Germany, Italy, Holland, Burgundy, France, Spain and Portugal into one vast confederation—could it have existed to this day ? Is it supposable that so infinite a diversity of interests—which, if not existent, would surely have grown with time—could have been bound in one immense union of disunity ? But Switzerland alone, has lived through the intervening centuries, and kept her proud position amongst nations, her democratic freedom and her internal happiness. Her people are like each other ; they have comparatively few conflicts of interest, and their country is limited in extent. Even with these advantages, she has had several narrow escapes from revolution, arising out of dissensions between her Cantons.

If it be fated that the American Union dissolve into two confederacies, it is consolatory to think, that each will be sufficiently strong to protect itself from external enemies ; internal peace in each may be the more confidently looked for, because the antagonistic elements at present compelled to meet, will no longer be brought into conflict. The evil of actual severance is, in a great measure, ideal. That which is to be dreaded is, THE HATRED which the conflict commonly attending national ruptures engenders. No man is at this day bold enough to say, that the severance of the American colonies and the mother country was an evil, except for the insane warfare which it caused. Both countries have been, for seventy years, benefitted by that disunion ; but the blood of kindred, inflamed by the conflict, has scarcely yet been cooled into mutual forgiveness.

To whom would disunion bring injury ? Each section stoutly denies

that it will, or can, be injured ; but, in some unexplained way, it is asserted that the whole are to be damaged, without a hair of either being hurt. Oh, it is urged, disunion will lower America in the eyes of Europe ! Does America care—is either North or South, dependent on European opinion ? Say, rather, that the PEACEFUL separation of thirty millions of people—sections of whom have diverse interests—into two confederacies, without bloodshed or violence, would be a spectacle of such surpassing grandeur—so contrary to all that men have heretofore witnessed—that Europe would be compelled to revere those principles, which, permeating the masses, can hold in check the passions of multitudes, and permit the sway of reason in a vast population. Great families break up in the order of Providence. England—though in relation to her colonial dependencies, a government concentrated almost to despotism—must, in time, cease to be the head of a world-wide empire. She expects to take her place as a mother of nations, and let her children work out their own destinies. Australia, Canada, British Columbia, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, India, all will, in future generations, doubtless be independent nationalities, as her American colonies have become.

The great precedent which is wanted in the history of the world, is a peaceful division of a powerful empire. The United States have astonished the world by their progress ; if they now divide, let them bless it, by establishing this noblest of national examples. To this end, thoughtful men hope, that everything like huckstering and driving bargains, will be avoided in the division of the national domain. A few forts, a stretch of unpeopled territory, a few millions more or less of the national debt, are bubbles when compared with the peace of thirty millions of people. A three months' derangement of commerce would quadruple in loss, the entire value of such matters of dispute.

To avoid the perpetual raking up of the old irritation, it is to be hoped that the North will lay down the doctrine of England, as to escaping slaves. Let there be no extradition laws for fugitives from labor. The Southerner will then look upon fugitives as dead, and submit to their loss as he does when he buries them.

VIII.

It is vain to speculate upon the ultimate destiny of the Slave States. Were the race held in bondage of the same human type, we could anticipate an ultimate blending, and an elevation of the whole. But here are millions of black men amongst millions of white ; and of the two, the lower are the more vigorous and re-productive. History furnishes no precedent of races so intimately

mixed, yet so widely differing. The very antipodes of humanity occupy a common soil; between them fusion appears impossible. Equally impossible does it seem that, in this reading, printing and thinking age, the inferior race can for a great length of time be held in bondage. The growing lights and potential voices of civilization, will edge by degrees into the midst of the colored race. Even if they could be kept in bondage by force, the time will surely come to the dominant order in the South, as it has come to their brethren of England and the North, when from their own consciences will spring the power which will manumit the slave.

But, then, what shall be? Can the two races exist together, distinct as the squares of a chess board, and harmonize? It is hardly conceivable. More probable is it, that the black race, obeying their natural instincts, will gradually leave the temperate zone, and by degrees crowd down upon the tropics. Already the amalgamation of the Cancassian and Indian races in Mexico, Central America, and tropical South America, is working the extinction of both, and making room for a fresh human tide. It scarcely requires the eye of prophecy to see in the far future the millions of the American negro, spreading through those countries, until they found nationalities of their own, amidst the swamps and heats of the tropical zone. Thus, the law of races, violated when the sons of Africa were brought to the white man's home, to countries fitted for the white man's occupancy, shall, after the lapse of centuries, assert its force; and the order of nature, interrupted by the rapacity of man, be restored and maintained.

Through what national throes and human suffering, this, or what other end, shall be brought about, we know not. Our concern is with the present, and "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

IX.

Whatever may be the result of the present crisis, the State of California will undoubtedly remain with the Union. The advocates of Secession—of an independent Republic, of a Pacific Utopia—are confined to people from the South and their immediate friends. Citizens from Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, and numbers from Louisiana, in the main prefer the Union; but the entire mass of our Northern and Western citizens, without distinction of political party, with an unanimity which delights the lovers of peace, and progress, and democratic government, adhere with their whole hearts to the Union—to the whole Union if possible, but to the Union with the free States under every prospective contingency. There may indeed come a time in the remote future, when the happy physical conditions of our State shall have produced fixity and density of population, when the labors of many generations shall have added greatly to the national resources, that California may gracefully cease to lean upon her sister States and become self-existing; but for the present, she is emphatically of the North, for freedom, democracy and Union.*

* The division of the American Union, if it take place, will be at the great line which divides North and South. There will be a Union of Democratic Republics—without any

Let us hope that while the South works out the arduous problem of maintaining slavery surrounded by the blaze of freedom, and the North develops the progress of the "great experiment" of government by the masses, California may realize the prediction of one of the most original thinkers of Europe, made twenty years ago, while she was yet a miserable province of Mexico: "*It may not be unreasonable to expect, when the United States are fully peopled to the Pacific, the greatest civilization of that vast Territory will be found in the Peninsula of California, and the narrow strip of country beyond the Rocky Mountains.*"†

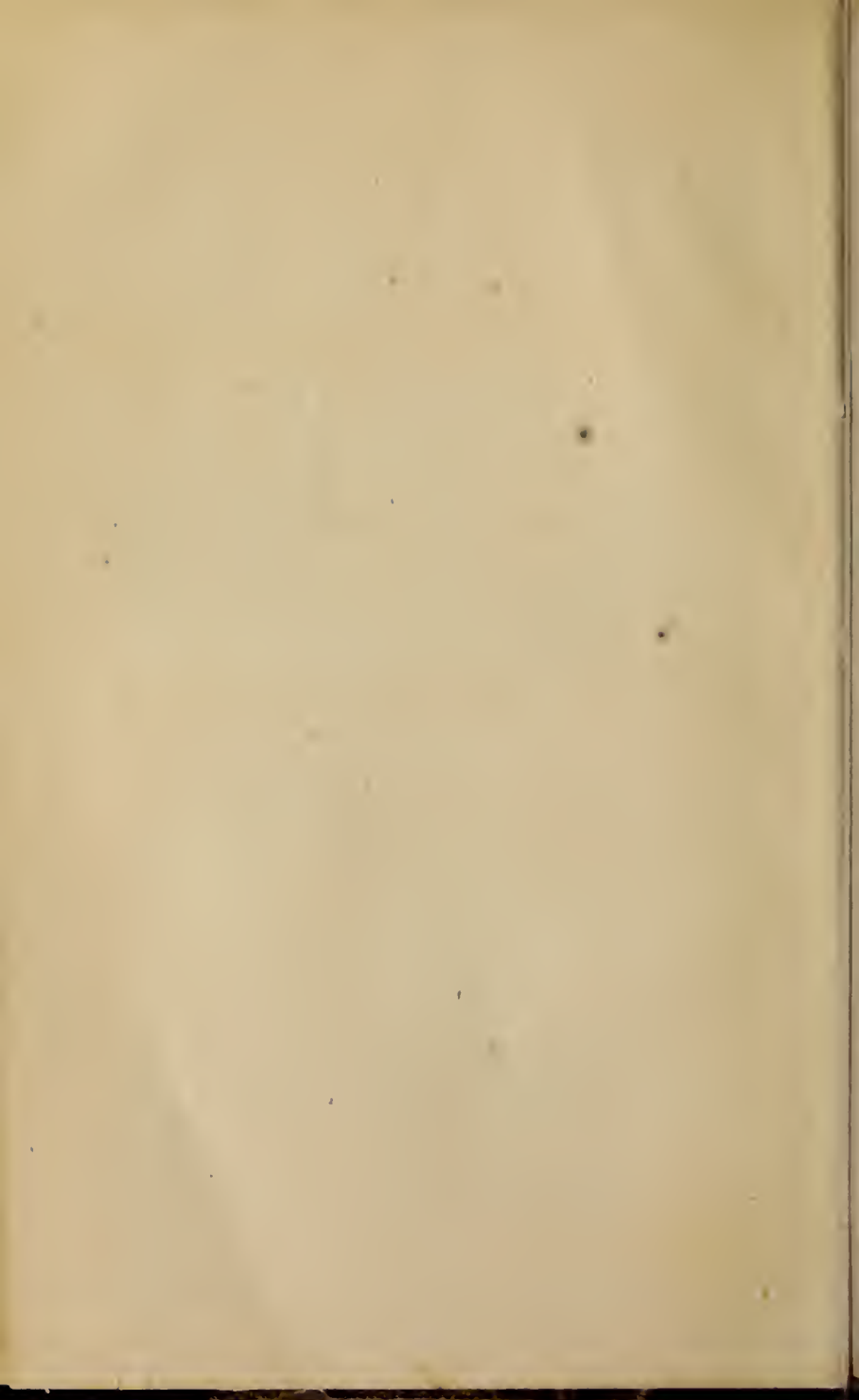
I am, dear sir, yours truly,

ANGLO-CALIFORNIAN.

SAN FRANCISCO, February 4, 1861.

great principles of incompatibility to evoke continual jars within it; and there will be a Union of Aristocratic Republics equally homogeneous within its circle. Of course, each may expect to have disturbances arising from clashing geographical or sectional interests, but they will, within their respective Unions, be free from the violent and eternal antagonisms of Aristocracy and Democracy, of privilege and equality, of freedom and slavery. Western Virginia, Kentucky, Eastern Tennessee and Maryland will (judging from my observation of them) be perplexed to choose. They will probably unite in the first instance with the Southern Union—but in the course of time renounce that connection and unite with the North.

† *Vestiges of Creation*. Page 227.



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THE

CONSTITUTION AND UNION

A SERIES OF ARTICLES

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THE CONSTITUTION AND UNION.

NUMBER ONE.

It was the remark of an eminent European writer, that no form of Government required so high a degree of intelligence in the people, as the Federal or Confederate form. The truth of this remark receives ample confirmation from the experience of our own people and government. No people profess to have a higher degree of intelligence than our own; yet how few among them do we find, who entertain accurate and just notions of the framework and character of our institutions. Many of those even whose education or profession would seem to peculiarly qualify them for judging correctly of the character of our institutions, err as widely in their opinions as the comparatively uneducated.

There are, in some parts of our country, Judges on the bench, lawyers at the bar, and members of Congress and of State Legislatures who imagine the Federal Government to be endowed with inherent sovereignty, and that the several States of the Union bear towards it the same relation the counties of a State do towards the State. Such men forget the most notorious facts of history, and pervert the plainest conclusions of reason. Much of this sort of reason is to be ascribed, no doubt, to the indisposition of the people to investigate mere questions of abstract truth. Our people deem it to their honor to be regarded as eminently practical; and, in their zeal for that which is useful, seem to forget the existence of general truths. Hence, some of the greatest and best men of our country have found themselves slighted and cast aside by the popular voice, because they were called abstractionists; as if practical truth could exist independent of abstract truth. Owing to this cause there is some reason to fear that the American mind of the present day cares little for right as right, and for duty as duty; and it may be that the reproach of Thucydides to Athenians, "*that they deemed that lawful which pleased, and that just which profited,*" applies with equal propriety to ourselves.

It is not so much a matter of wonder that the mass of our people should not fully understand the relations existing between our Federal and State Governments, which depend upon such nice and subtle distinction. Foreigners, even of eminence, can scarcely comprehend our system of two co-ordinate jurisdictions moving *pari passu*, each supreme within its own sphere, and inhibited from trespassing upon the sphere of the other. They usually regard our State Governments as a system of "*Imperia in Imperio*," existing in subordination to, and by the allowance of, the Federal Government.

It was long before Sydney Smith could be made to understand that the Federal Government was neither bound itself to the Pennsylvania bondholders, nor could compel Pennsyl-

vania to perform her obligations. There is much excuse for the ignorance of foreigners, and the uneducated of our own people. But as respects those of our people who profess to be educated and set up for teachers, there is no apology for an ignorance which the slightest degree of labor, allied to candor, would remove.

I propose, in these papers, to present a brief abstract of the principles which lie at the foundation of our institutions. I shall first state those principles upon which the leading minds of our country have never differed; and then proceed to questions controverted between American statesmen, and which constitute the distinctive principles of the two great parties into which our people have been divided, from the organization of our government down to the present time. To do this properly, I shall be compelled to give a brief historical summary of the condition of the several States, from their settlement as Colonies up to the adoption of the Constitution.

Each of the original Colonies was settled and organized separately. As a rule, the King of Great Britain granted out to an individual (usually a favorite), a large extent of territory, on condition of settlement. For example, Maryland, the original seat of religious liberty, was granted to Lord Baltimore; Pennsylvania to the celebrated Wm. Penn; Georgia to General Oglethorpe, and Virginia to Raleigh and his associates. These several plantations, as they were called, were governed either, by royal charters or by proprietary governments. The proprietary government of South Carolina was framed by the illustrious John Locke. These proprietary and chartered governments each acknowledged obedience to, and maintained its connection with, the mother country. They were, however, totally disconnected and politically independent of each other.

During the long and arduous Indian contests which followed their first settlement, they frequently united for the purpose of self-defense; but, apart from these occasions, and the connections necessarily produced by contiguity, they were not really united in a higher degree than Australia and Canada are at the present day. Each Colony had its separate machinery of government, responsible only to the King, or proprietors at home. Each had its own peculiar laws and customs.

At the moment that Lord Baltimore was teaching and carrying into practice the principles of religious liberty in Maryland, the Puritans of New England were burning witches at Salem, and hanging Quakers there and elsewhere.

Nor did the laws and customs of the several plantations differ from each other in a higher degree than the social and domestic manners and habits of the people. The cavalier descendants of the Norman Conquerors, with the pride

of blood and lineage peculiar to their race, occupied Virginia; the Huguenots, with the gaiety of their race, the Carolinas; while the stern, sour Puritan sons of the Saxon, cast their lots amid the bleak hills of New England. The Virginian worshipped God after the creed of the Established Church of the mother country; the New England Independent, according to the doctrines of Calvin and Knox; while the emigrant to Maryland adhered to the infallible Church of Rome. So great a diversity in blood, climate, laws, customs and religion, produced a corresponding diversity in personal habits and character.

Nor were our fathers of that day as free as we are apt to imagine from sectional prejudices and ill will. The embittered state of feeling existing between the Cavaliers and Roundheads, became extended to the Colonies; and there is no doubt that the Virginians and New Englanders of that day entertained towards each other a hatred as bitter as that which animated the breasts of the soldiers of Rupert and Cromwell. This state of feeling continued up to the Revolution, and was, beyond doubt, one of the difficulties which then stood in the way of uniting the Colonies for defense against Great Britain.

The last man in the world we should suppose to have been influenced by such sentiments, was Washington; yet we have abundant evidence from his letters, etc., that even he entertained prejudices against New England. We also know that the same spirit, in the light of the Revolution, led to an intrigue or conspiracy to displace him as the commander of the army, and substitute another.

The following quotation from a speech of James Madison, in the Convention that framed the Constitution, will show how far this feeling of section continued to predominate, even in the midst of the war:

"The great danger to our general government, is the great Southern and Northern interests of the continent being opposed to each other.

"Look at the votes in Congress, and most of them stand directly divided by the geography of the country, not according to the size of the States."

He was arguing at the time against the assumption that the large States might combine in the future to oppress the smaller ones.

This sentiment of hostility between the Colonies was then stronger than it has ever since been, until very recently, and beyond doubt did much to shape the form and character of our subsequent institutions. It is because of this influence for good or evil, that we now notice it. Finally the Revolution came, and the Colonies became united. But how united? Not as subordinate provinces to a supreme head; but as independent States, combined together as allies for mutual support and defense. The war was carried on, and independence achieved by each Colony, with the assistance of the others, as clearly appears from the Declaration of Independence, which, in terms, proclaims that the several Colonies should henceforth be "*free and independent States*."

During the war, the Articles of Confederation were framed. These Articles conferred certain limited powers on the General Congress of the States; but those powers could only be exerted on State Governments, and not upon citizens of the States. The great difference between the Confederation and the present

Union, consists in the fact that the former was a Union of State Governments—the latter a Union of States or State sovereignties.

The Articles of Confederation being found inadequate to the purposes of good government, for the reason just mentioned, it became necessary to organize a more perfect and stable Union. The great State of Virginia took the lead in this, as she did in all other schemes of public advancement and general usefulness. Congress adopted the suggestion, and recommended a Convention of delegates from the several States to assemble at Philadelphia, "for the purpose of revising and amending the Articles, so as to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government."

The delegates to this Convention were elected by the States, as States; and the States voted by States, each State having one vote and no more. To show the extent of the powers confided to the Convention, and also the sentiments of the people of that day, I shall quote from the credentials of the delegates from each of the twelve States which appeared in Convention, the powers delegated by their constituent bodies. They were as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—To discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remedy the defects of the Federal Union.

MASSACHUSETTS.—In conforming with the resolution of Congress, recommending a Convention for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation to the preservation of the Union.

CONNECTICUT.—For the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.

NEW YORK.—In the same words.

NEW JERSEY.—For the purpose of taking into consideration the State of the Union, as to trade and other important subjects; and of devising such other provisions as shall appear necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies thereof.

PENNSYLVANIA.—To devise such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution fully adequate to the exigencies of the Union.

DELAWARE.—In the same words with a proviso, that each State shall have one vote in Congress.

MARYLAND.—In the same words with the proviso.

VIRGINIA.—In the same words. This State passed the first law for appointing delegates to the Convention.

NORTH CAROLINA.—For the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—To devise such alterations as may be thought necessary to render the Federal Constitution entirely adequate to the actual situation and future good government of the Confederate States.

GEORGIA.—To devise such alterations as may render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union.

The foregoing are extracts in *totidem verbis* from the celebrated work of John Taylor, of Carolina, entitled "*Views of the Constitution*," a most powerful vindication of the Constitution against those who, in his day, endeavored, by construction, to overthrow it.

It will be observed, that not one of the States represented in the Convention, contemplated anything more as the result of its labors than a revision and modification of the Articles of Confederation, so as to render them more efficient, and at the same time preserve the federal form of government, and the sovereignty of the States intact.

The word *national* is not mentioned by any, even by implication.

In my next number, I shall endeavor to show that the Convention, after many vacillations,

did, in point of fact, obey the instructions to the delegates; and, after rejecting the scheme for a National Government, adopt a pure federal system, by which each of the States retained its inherent Sovereignty, and the central government was endowed, by grant, with certain limited powers.

NUMBER TWO.

It is not to be expected that in a paper like the present, I should endeavor to give minute details of the course of affairs in the Convention. A brief statement of a few leading facts is alone necessary to my purpose.

From the first day of the assembling of the Convention, great diversities of opinion relative to the character of the intended government, developed themselves. It is probable that there were as many different seeds of opinion as there were members of the Convention; yet, in the end, they all became arrayed in three different parties. They were: 1st. The party of Hamilton, Morris, and others, which desired a consolidated national government, of the monarchical, aristocratic type. 2d. The party of Madison, which advocated a national government of the Democratic type. And 3d. The Federal party, which, under the leadership of Luther Martin, Patterson, Yates, and others, demanded that the authority delegated to the Convention by the States should be strictly pursued, and a government framed upon the model of the Articles of Confederation, which would leave to the States their sovereign character and independence, except so far as the latter might be controlled by the express grants of the Constitution.

It is undeniable that the Convention, especially in the first part of its session, was subject to many mutations and fluctuations of sentiment. These, however, cannot, in justice, be ascribed to the character of the delegates, who were all men of ability and firmness, but rather to the fact that upon many important occasions some of the States were either in part or wholly unrepresented. Hence resulted the fact that some time after its session commenced, the two National parties, combined into one, under the able leadership of Madison and Hamilton, were victorious over the Federalists upon every contested proposition. And this state of affairs continued until the arrival of the New Hampshire delegation gave the preponderance to the latter, and brought the Convention back to the true purpose of its meeting. Then it was that several of the National leaders, (among them Hamilton), finding themselves vanquished, retreated from the Convention, and left the field clear for their adversaries.

The Convention then, without delay, proceeded to frame a Constitution, which, together with its amendments, forms the sole charter of our present Federal Government. The Constitution, thus formed, was submitted to the States for ratification; and it was provided that it should go into operation whenever it should be ratified by nine States—a conclusive proof (were it needed) of its federal character; for, had any of the States refused to ratify it, it would still have gone into effect, while the States refusing would have remained entirely separate and independent—while fully demonstrates that it was not the act of the *entire people*, but of the States, viewed as sovereigns. It

was ratified by the *States*, as contradistinguished from the entire people, and also from the State Governments—that is to say, by the actual sovereign as contradistinguished from the agent of sovereignty, and each State ratified for itself alone.

But it may be necessary for a full comprehension of the foregoing, that I should here define the several terms of "Sovereignty," "National," and "Federal" as applied to government.

The word "sovereign" is applied to governments of the foregoing form, whether absolute or limited, to the monarch himself. The doctrine that power is derived from any source other than the ruler himself, is scarcely known in such countries.

But in America, it is very different. With us the theory prevails that the government is endowed with no inherent authority, and that all its powers are derived from grant.

By ascertaining what, with us, is the source of power, we ascertain sovereignty itself; for sovereignty is nothing more or less than that *ultimate, absolute, irresponsible and immutable authority existing in every organized people, which is the source of all political power, and which makes and unmakes governments, at its will and pleasure.* A constitution, or scheme of government, is not "sovereign," but the creature of sovereignty, and liable to be changed or subverted by it; while sovereignty itself is not obnoxious to any change, nor can it be impaired by any human means. Still less can that incorporeal entity we call "government," which results from the Constitution, or fundamental law, be called sovereignty; for it is the creature of the sovereign, and exists solely by its permission. All governments, it is true, exercise many sovereign acts; but we must carefully distinguish between sovereignty and the exercise of sovereignty.

If a grant of the exercise of sovereignty was a grant of the thing itself, then a government once formed could never be changed, because there would be no power back of it superior to itself.

The government is a mere agent, and exercises the powers granted to it as agent; and it is clear that however extensive and unlimited the grant of powers, it remains none the less a mere creature and agent.

If I give to my agent authority over all my business, he is still just as much an agent as if the authority only extended to a single transaction.

It is universally admitted in America that sovereignty is inherent in the people; but the point of dispute is, in what people? To this, some reply, in the entire mass of the people of the United States; while others assert that it resides now where it did before the Constitution was formed, viz: in the people of each of the *States, as States.* To this latter class belong the true Democratic party, and that it is the correct view, will be shown when we come to explain the character of a federal government.

The word "Nation," means a single, consolidated people, living, for all political purposes, under one and the same government; and the adjective "National," must mean, of or pertaining to a Nation. The members of the Convention, and all succeeding American statesmen, intended by the phrase "*National Government*," as contradistinguished from the *federal scheme*, to express that form of govern-

ment of which *individuals*, and not *States* or *communities*, should be the constituents; or, in other words, a government framed and ratified by the people *en masse*, without reference to State lines or State jurisdiction. It is very obvious that such a scheme involves the total obliteration of State authority, and affects to mould the entire population of the country into one people or community.

Such a form of government was deemed by our ancestors so utterly unsuited to the vast extent of our country, and to the peculiar interests and local prejudices of the different sections, that although supported by some of the very ablest in men of that day, it met with no favor at the hands of the people, and the opposite scheme was finally adopted.

We next come to the word "federal." Federal is the adjective of the Latin word *foedus*, which signifies, a league, or alliance. Hence "federal" primarily means pertaining to a league or alliance; and a federal government is a government resulting from, and founded upon, a league or alliance. The history of modern Europe, anterior to our Revolution, presents several examples of governments partially or exclusively federal in their character. The federal system, for example, as it existed in some Kingdoms of Europe during the Middle Ages, presented several practical features of the federal form, in the relations of the great Barons towards each other, or towards their Suzerain, or Lord paramount.

The German Empire, composed of a large number of independent Kingdoms and Electorates united together under the Emperor, and a general Congress or Diet, also possessed much of the federal character. So, too, the Provinces of the United Netherlands, having, through William the Silent and his brother Maurice, thrown off the yoke of Spain, erected a government of a purely federal character, which contained some features that would seem at first sight to render it totally impracticable, but which, notwithstanding, lasted three hundred years, and rendered the Provinces (with a very small population and extent of territory) the richest and most powerful country in Europe. The fairest illustration, however, of the federal scheme in Europe, was presented by the Swiss Cantons. Those small republics, each independent and sovereign in itself, for the sake of mutual protection and defense, united themselves into a league, or alliance, several centuries ago, and have remained so united ever since, except during the brief ascendancy of the French Revolutionists. Each Canton exercises absolute control over its own local matters, and the Federal Diet is restricted exclusively to foreign affairs and to disputes between the Cantons. Other examples might be adduced, but the foregoing will suffice. It is manifest, not only from the original meaning of the word, but also from the history of its practical use by Statesmen and Publicists, that the phrase "Federal Government" had, at the time our Constitution was formed, come to mean exclusively a government resulting from a *League or Union of sovereign States which still continue to retain their sovereignty*. The Convention had the examples given above and many others before them. That body was composed of men profoundly versed in the history and philosophy of every form of government. They were the last men in the world to err in the use of words; and when they deliberately adopted a form of expression having already

an ascertained historical meaning, the proof that they also adopted that meaning, is very little short of absolute demonstration. When, therefore, the Convention adopted the federal form of government, we may take it for granted that they intended thereby a government founded upon a league between the thirteen States, to be evidenced by the Constitution.

And here we may recur to the question, for the purpose of answering it, of where does sovereignty under our system continue to reside?

It follows from the very definition of the word "federal" that it must still reside in each of the States, or, more properly speaking, in the people of each of the States. Apart, however, from this deduction, founded upon necessary implication from our form of government, it is easy to establish by *a priori* reasoning that it must reside there.

As thus: All admit that the States were each independent and sovereign before the Constitution was formed.

It is equally clear, that whatever was not granted by that instrument, was reserved to the parties granting, that is, to the States; and that if sovereignty was not granted, it remains as originally vested. If the reader will bear in mind the distinction before made between sovereignty and the exercise of sovereign acts, he will see at once that the States did not, and probably could not, grant away their inherent sovereignty.

Far, the States still retain the right to amend, modify, or even abolish their present form of government; and this, as already shown, constitutes the very essence of "sovereignty." The Constitution itself contains, *ex industria*, a provision, reserving to the States, or to the people, all powers not granted thereby. If the States could not have granted their separate sovereignty to the federal government, with still less propriety could they be said to have surrendered it to the people at large of the whole Union. The Constitution nowhere mentions, even by implication, the people of the entire confederacy, as a political element. It creates a Union between the *States, as States*—not between this or that State and the residuary mass of the entire population; nor between the people of this or that State or section and the remaining population of the whole country.

Moreover, by the terms of the Constitution, the right of amendment (one of the sovereign rights) is reserved to the States, and not to the people at large. Besides all this, can any sensible man suppose that the Convention intended to transfer the separate sovereignty to the mass of the people of the whole, and yet omit to insert a single word or sentence to that effect in the Constitution which they had framed? The importance of such a transfer is inconceivably great, since it would entirely change our form of government; and it seems perfectly incredible that the wisest body of men our country ever produced should have left it to be inferred by far fetched implication, rather than have expressly declared it in terms, in the Constitution itself. From the foregoing, the following conclusions inevitably follow:

1. The Union of these States is a league or confederacy of and between sovereigns.
2. The compact or agreement by which this league or union is created and held together, is the Constitution of the United States, as

framed by the Convention and ratified; and subsequently amended by the States.

3. The agreement or compact called the Constitution, while serving as a bond of union between the States, also, in terms, creates what we call the *Federal Government*; and as the Constitution is the creature of the States, so, also must be the Federal Government.

Our institutions, in short, are *federal democratic*—federal, as opposed to national, and democratic, as opposed to monarchical or aristocratic.

The Constitution and the government are not identical; but differ from each other in about the same degree as the law differs from those who execute it.

To illustrate this: Suppose thirteen men enter into a community or partnership for the purpose of transacting certain business; suppose they enter into articles of agreement, by which they stipulate the terms of their association, and also appoint a common agent to represent their joint interests. Now, here are three things not by any means identical, yet each intimately related to the other, viz: the association, the articles of agreement, and the agent.

Our Union of States answers precisely to the first; the Constitution to the articles of agreement which bind them together and evidences the terms; and our Federal Government corresponds exactly with the agent so appointed. As in one case there would be no partnership without the articles, so in the other the Constitution is the *sole* bond of political union between the States; and as the agent in the one case has no authority but such as he receives from the articles, so the Federal Government is restricted to the powers expressly granted by the Constitution. I am aware, that in these latter days, some objections are urged against this theory of our government, and it is said that a government founded upon such a plan would be a mere rope of sand. To such I answer, that my object is to ascertain what our government is, not what it *ought to be*; and that no man, or party of men have a right to set up their particular notions of policy or right against the plainest teachings of reason and history. Efforts to do this, culminating in the worst phases of *higher-lawism*, have brought us into our present disastrous condition, from which there is no hope of extrication but in a return to just and sound views of constitutional rights and obligations.

But I differ materially from the objections, even upon the point of policy.

That our Constitution and Union are the creatures of sovereigns, supported by their plighted faith, is the very highest guaranty of their stability. History assures us that no form of government has been found more permanent, or withstood more successfully the shocks of time, than the federal; and if ours should prove an exception to the rule, the fault is not in our institutions, but must be looked for in other causes, which would probably have produced like effects under any form of government.

In my next, I shall reply to some of the most plausible objections to these principles, and also endeavor to trace their influence upon the practical working of our system.

NUMBER THREE.

The principles embraced in my last number were received almost as axioms by all classes of persons, in the early days of the Republic. Even Hamilton did not deny that we were a federal Republic, bound together by the compact of the Constitution; and the same idea is advanced by other authors of the Federalist. We know that Hamilton thought our form of government far too weak, and proposed to make it stronger by means of the combined influence of construction and patronage; and this shows very conclusively, that his conception of what the Convention intended, was precisely identical with that entertained by the strict State Rights men. Some years after the government went into operation, a majority of the Supreme Court, it is true, in pursuance of Hamilton's plan of changing the Constitution, by construction, allowed a writ to be brought by an individual against a State—which could not have been done, had the State been regarded as sovereign—but the States took the alarm at once, and by an amendment to the Constitution declared that it was never intended by the original provisions of that instrument to authorize an individual to sue a State of the Union—thus vindicating their separate sovereignty in the most decided and emphatic manner.

But it was reserved to these latter days, and to one particular party, to avowedly maintain the doctrine that the whole American people are one in all essential respects; and that States and State governments are mere creatures of convenience, existing for local purposes, and by permission of the federal government. The object of this party is clear. Whenever they succeed in establishing the heresy that we are a government of the absolute numerical majority of the whole, they succeed also in placing the institution of each State under the dominion of that majority, thereby rendering constitutional guaranties as worthless as so much waste paper.

To such as reflect, it is not difficult to perceive in what manner the principles of consolidation and anti-slavery have contributed, by a sort of reflex influence, to each other's growth. For example, during our early history, the anti-slavery men confined their efforts to abolish the institution to their own States; because they had no idea that they were either responsible for slavery elsewhere, or could do anything to abolish it. As time elapsed, however, the seeds of a false constitutional construction, sown by Hamilton and his successors, germinated and grew, and finally produced, as their natural consequence, a tendency towards consolidation—a result which Hamilton himself, so far as we can learn, never for a moment contemplated. The idea gained ground practically, though disavowed in theory, that the people of Massachusetts and South Carolina were parts of one and the same great people, and at once the tender consciences of the abolitionists began to be greatly concerned that they should participate in the curse of slavery.

The natural consequence of this concern was to induce them to organize efforts to put it down, and hence results modern abolitionism, with all its outrageous characteristics. The abolitionists, finding themselves embarked in their anti-slavery war, and becoming impatient of all constitutional and legal barriers interposed between them and their aim, resolved to

be bound by them no longer. Hence results the higher-lawism, John Brownism, and especially consolidation in its worst and most dangerous form, as now avowed and taught by abolitionists everywhere. Such has been the progress of a large portion of our countrymen towards consolidation, which, unless a reaction soon comes, must destroy our present institutions. One argument is frequently used to establish this view of the Constitution, which has a more plausible sound than any other, and which, therefore, I shall answer. It is this, viz: That it is inconsistent with the theory of a federal government that it should operate directly upon individuals; that our government does, in many cases, operate directly upon individuals, and not upon States; and, therefore, to that extent, it cannot be federal in its character.

A more fallacious argument can scarcely be conceived. What reason is there for saying that a federal government cannot directly affect individuals, if the States have so agreed? We again call attention to the position we assumed in the second number, that the extent of the powers granted by the States is not the criterion for determining the question—that however extensive the delegated powers, they do not, and cannot, change the agent into the master, or the master into the servant. The federal government operates, in some respects, directly upon me, a citizen of the State of California; but why does it do this? The answer is obvious—because the State of California, my sovereign, has agreed that it should do so. By making this agreement, California can no more be said to have yielded up her sovereignty than by any other of the numerous stipulations of the Constitution; for the power of the federal government to affect me directly, is no more inconsistent with State sovereignty, than the power to affect me indirectly through the State itself. Those who use the argument seem to think that a federal government can only operate directly upon its constituent sovereignties; and indirectly upon citizens. But what good reason can be given for this distinction? The question is one solely of the extent of the grant. Some federal governments may be clothed with larger powers than others; as, for instance, our present government is possessed of far more extensive powers than the Confederation; but we again repeat, that the character of the government can never depend upon the extent of the grant.

To return to the main point under discussion. The following general conclusions directly result from the principles advanced in our first two numbers. The first and most obvious result of the Constitution was to establish in each State of the Union, a duplex, or two-fold system of government, consisting of two distinct and independent and component parts. The first of these is the local State government, resulting from the State Constitution; the second, the Federal Government, resulting from the Federal Constitution. Take our own State, for example: Were the question asked, what constitutes the government of the State of California? the reply would probably be, "that machinery of Executive, Legislative and Judiciary, established by what we call the State Constitution;" but that answer would be only partly true.

The proper response would be, "the government established by the State Constitution, so far as its authority extends; and also the

government established by the Federal Constitution, within the sphere of its delegated powers."

A citizen of California, then, owes *obedience* (I do not mean *allegiance*) to what is called the State government, so far as its right to compel obedience goes; and also to the Federal Government to the extent of its powers. For example, the State has an undoubted right to regulate all its local affairs in its own way.

Suppose, then, our State should pass a law regulating the descent of real property, and the Federal Government should pass a law on the same subject, to conflict with the State law. Which are we to obey? Obviously the State law; for, the subject matter of the law lies exclusively with the State jurisdiction. Again, the Federal Government has the exclusive right to levy imposts. Suppose then, a Federal law imposing duties should be met by a State law on the same subject. What are citizens to do? Clearly to obey the Federal law; for the act of imposing duties is within the scope of Federal authority.

We see at once, from this, the vast importance of every citizen being acquainted with the relations subsisting between the two branches of the government under which he lives; since he may at any moment be called upon to decide between them, as to where he owes obedience.

I would here remark that the local and Federal branches of the government of a State, are of precisely equal authority; since they both owe their origin to the same sovereign power, the people of the State. If it is asked why I owe obedience to the Legislature, Judiciary and Executive of California, I answer, because the sovereign people of California have, by their State Constitution, so agreed and determined. If the same question be asked respecting what we call the Federal Government, I answer, because the same sovereign people have, by entering into the Union and ratifying the Constitution, pledged my obedience to federal authority. It will thus be seen that the citizen's obligations to State or local and federal authority, stand upon the same footing, and are exacted from him by the same high sanction, viz: the compact or the consent of the sovereign people.

By adopting the State Constitution, the people have agreed that the so-called State government shall possess and exercise certain powers within the State—by ratifying the Federal Constitution, they have agreed that the people of all the States through their common agent, the Federal Government, shall exercise another class of power within the State.

It will be observed in passing, that there is a marked distinction between "*obedience*" and "*allegiance*."

We owe *obedience* to the law and to the government; but *allegiance* is only due to the sovereign; and as neither the State nor Federal Government are sovereign, but mere creatures of the sovereign will, allegiance can never be due to either.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing that I place the State and Federal Governments upon precisely the same level in all things.

The authority of each is supreme (in the sense that *all laws are supreme*) within its own sphere; and if either travels out of its sphere, or beyond the charter of its creation, it is not

only the right, but the *absolute duty* of every citizen to withhold obedience to its unconstitutional edicts.

But although neither the State nor the Federal Government can control the other, there is a power which controls both. That power is the sovereign people of the State; and; as they have never been curtailed of any of their authority, their right to control must still be unlimited.

The powers not granted by the Federal Constitution are called the "reserved powers of the States;" and, as those powers still exist in each of the States, we may with propriety say that the supreme authority of each State consists of two parts, viz: the powers granted to the Federal Government by the Constitution, and those reserved to the State itself. Some of the reserved powers are vested by the State Constitution in the State government; but by far the most important of them, among them, sovereignty itself, remain in abeyance in the people of the State until called into active operation by some adequate occasion.

It has always been admitted by American statesmen, that the Federal Government possesses no powers except such as are granted by the Constitution.

This, of itself, is a conclusive proof that that government is not sovereign; for the sovereign can be restrained by no written covenants. But there is a great difference in the various modes resorted to for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the grant in each case. All agree that, whatever that instrument permits is lawful; but the question is, what does it permit?

Upon this question, the two great parties which have always existed in our country, first divided, and have, under various names, remained divided to this day. One party contended that the Constitution should be construed in a broad and liberal manner, so as to give Congress powers not expressly mentioned; while the other maintained that a strict, literal construction was the proper one. The former took the name of "federalists;" the latter that of "democrats." The manner in which the federal party usurped that name presents the most curious case of political juggling known to history. The party in the convention which favored a National government, finding that their views were odious to the people, and being determined, if possible, to obtain power, seized hold, at the first opportunity, of the popular name of "federalists;" though they previously entertained not a single federal principle. The real federalists, finding themselves deprived of their rightful name, adopted that of "democrats," as being the next most appropriate to their principles. Another curious fact in connection with the original formation of parties, relates to the positions assumed by some of the extreme State Rights men in and out of the Convention.

It is well known that Luther Martin, Patrick Henry, and others, opposed the ratification of the Constitution, not because it departed from the federal standard, but because they thought it conferred too much power on the federal government, which might, in the end, be used to subvert the reserved rights of the States. After the Constitution was ratified and put in operation, those very men, instead of joining the Democrats, who advocated a strict construction of the Constitution, united themselves with the friends of liberal construction.

They did this, doubtless, from a sentiment of consistency; for, after they had urged extreme measures before the State Conventions, as a reason for defeating the ratification, they thought it inconsistent for them to repudiate those views after it was ratified.

In the same way, Mr. Madison, a friend to a National government, in the Convention, yet placed himself with the Democrats; because, although he may have supposed the Constitution imperfect, he desired it to be construed and carried into operation, as intended by the framers.

The difference in the mode of construction applied by the two parties to the Constitution, is better shown by examples than by definitions.

Take, for example, the Bank question. The Federalists, and their successors, the Whigs; held that Congress might, under a power to regulate the currency, charter a great National Bank. The Democrats, on the other hand, construed the word "currency" in its true natural sense, as synonymous with the legal circulating medium, or, in other words, the current coin of the country; and held that it could never extend to bank paper, which was not a legal tender under the Constitution.

In like manner, the Federalists endeavored to deduce from the powers to levy imports, and regulate commerce, a right to protect manufactures. But the Democrats held that the first of those powers was given for the sake of revenue, and could never be perverted to other purposes; and as to the latter, they said that a power to regulate could never be construed into a power to oppress or restrict commerce.

So with many other questions of a similar nature.

These two parties have, from that day to this, divided our people.

Party names have been changed, and party measures have varied, but the principles of the two parties, as contra-distinguished from their policy or measures, have ever remained the same.

It is usual, we know, to confound the principles of a party with its measures, but there is a wide difference between the two.

The principles of a party are its abstract opinions and doctrines as to constitutional rights and powers; its measures are the practical result of those principles. For instance, the Tariff was not a principle of the Whig party, but one of its measures, dependent, of course, upon the doctrine of that party, that the Constitution must be liberally construed. The Republican party, the present representative of the Federalists, has, as before stated, super-added to the creed of their predecessors, the dogma of our being a government of the mere *absolute majority*; but in other respects its principles are identical with those taught by Hamilton and Adams, and opposed by Jefferson and Madison sixty years ago.

NUMBER FOUR.

I have shown, in the last number of these papers, that until quite a recent period of our history, the Federal theory of our Government was the one universally received. I have also endeavored to briefly point out the manner in which anti-slavery and consolidation sentiments have, by reacting upon each other, produced

the Republican party, and the present disastrous civil war.

I propose now to continue the same subject, with a view of further showing how opposed such doctrines are to the whole theory of our Government, as well as to reason and common sense.

We daily hear Republicans and their allies appeal to the sense of the majority, as a defense of the most dangerous doctrines. Instead of applying to the Constitution--the sole source of all Federal power--they refer to the majority as a warrant for any outrageous extreme. Slavery, say they, is wrong and should at once be abolished, because a majority of the whole people are opposed to it.

They forget that the American people, *as such*, have nothing to do with it. So, too, many gross and palpable infractions of the Constitution are justified by the same appeal to the perverted maxim, "*Vox populi, est vox Dei.*" Such doctrines, it is an easy task to show, lie at the source of all our difficulties; and we can never be restored to a proper condition, till both our people and government return to true and just notions of the character of our institutions.

It is a widely extended error that majorities possess a natural right to exact obedience from the minorities and individuals. The common expression is, that the majority should rule in all cases; as if it were endowed with a sort of divine right of governing. A more erroneous doctrine can scarcely be conceived.

Majorities have no natural rights.

We say that the people of each State are sovereign. Now, the sovereign can choose its own organ for communicating its will to individuals.

It might, were it so inclined, select the minority, or even an individual, as is the case in many countries. The question is, what organ is most likely to truly represent the sovereign will; and that, when ascertained; ought to be selected. It is a question of expediency and convenience, and not of right. But it has generally been deemed, in practice, at least, that majorities will act with greater skill and knowledge than minorities; and hence, majorities are chosen, in some countries, as the organ of expression.

To illustrate this: Suppose that one hundred men reside together in a separate community; and that they organize a government for themselves. Suppose, further, that they permit the majority to rule in certain cases. Now, such majority has no natural power over the remainder, but it gets all its authority from the grant. It is given to them because the larger number are supposed to possess a larger aggregate of practical wisdom than the smaller. This is the entire sense and philosophy of the rights of majorities. For, suppose, in the example given, that without adopting any particular form of government, ninety-nine men of the hundred should combine against the hundredth. They would have the power to exact submission from him, undoubtedly; but the present is not a question of power, but of right. There is also a very strong presumption that the ninety-nine would possess greater wisdom than the hundredth, and hence, that they would decide more correctly; but it is possible that the one man might have far more honesty and ability than all the others. Now, our position is, that, apart from compact or agreement between them all, the ninety-nine could have no

right whatever to coerce the one into obedience to their will.

Nor would the concurrence of the ninety-nine against the one, render their decision *right*, if it were not right in the sense of their united voices. If the one man was right in his views, before the majority against him was ascertained, he would still be right after it was ascertained; or, in other words, the voice of the majority could not make right wrong, or wrong right. The rights of one man are as sacred, in a natural point of view, as the rights of a thousand; and the latter could not deprive the former of his with a particle more justice than he could deprive them of theirs.

Again, if the power of majorities exist by natural right, it must necessarily be unlimited by natural right. In every civilized community we know, the authority of the majority is restrained. But how restrained? Not by natural limitations, but by positive laws. But suppose a state of society where there were no positive restraints upon the will of the majority; then if the power of the majority owed its origin to nature, it would necessarily be unlimited by nature. For, if nature has both given the right, and imposed limits upon its exercise, what are the limits imposed? This is a question which it is obvious cannot be answered, except by denying, *in toto* the existence of any limits at all; and hence it results, that if the right of a majority to rule a minority exists by nature, its exercise is totally unlimited by nature; and if, in the example already mentioned, sixty of the one hundred men should, in a moment of irritation, vote, without cause, to hang or imprison the remaining forty, it would be all right and proper, and the forty could not complain. To such monstrous and absurd conclusions must we arrive, in reasoning from perverted or misapprehended first principles.

Thus it appears, that the only true and rational theory of the powers of majorities, is, that in every case, they owe their origin to the positive institutions of the country where they exist; that they are not rights in any proper sense, but are merely delegated by the sovereign people, on grounds of convenience alone; and that they can be withdrawn and lodged elsewhere, whenever the same sovereign people shall so determine.

These general views of the powers of majorities may seem disconnected with the subject in hand; but they will, in some measure, enable us to arrive at just conclusions as to the rights and obligations of majorities under our own system.

It is not denied that the power of the majority to rule is largely incorporated into our institutions, as an element of government. It is the element that renders our government "Democratic" in addition to its being Federal. But the point of inquiry is, in what majority is this power? This question is really discussed and answered in our previous numbers, relative to the theory and form of our government; but that there may be no misapprehension of our views, we prefer to go partly over the same ground again.

It is now contended by certain politicians, (statesmen they certainly cannot be called), that the will of the majority of the entire American people is the governing element under our system, and that against its decrees there is, and can be no appeal; in other words, that they are final; and any one refusing obedience to them is guilty of treason.

This doctrine may not be avowed in terms by any but the most ignorant, but actions speak louder than words, and a man must be blind, indeed, who does not see from the history of the past few years, that the entire abolition party is governed in its conduct by this doctrine; and that it only awaits the acquisition of an absolute majority of the whole people to break down all constitutional barriers between itself and its object, invade the domain of State jurisdiction, and consummate its final purpose of overturning all local institutions which may not exactly suit its notions of abstract justice.

We have already shown that this doctrine which would consolidate the people of all the thirty-four States into a huge democracy, receives no countenance whatever from the framers of the Constitution, or even from the leaders of the original Federal party.

We have shown, too, that our government is exclusively Federal in its character, and consolidation, we know, is the very opposite of a Federal Government.

What *majority* then, is intended, when we say, that a majority shall govern, subject to the Constitution? The answer is obvious. The majority of the people of each State alone is intended. Such majorities alone are consistent with the Federal form of our Government.

The opposite doctrine would, of itself, without more, convert our government from the Federal to the National form.

We deny, *in toto*, the assumption that there is any such political element as the *American people*, considered as one people, belonging to our institutions. Such an element is equally in conflict with the theory of our Government and unknown to the Constitution and laws.

There are, at this day, thirty-four States. Each State has a people of its own, unconnected with the people of all other States, except by the ties of the Constitution.

The people of each State express their will, through a *majority*, independent of all other States; and this it is that constitutes us a democracy—not a democracy of the whole, but of each of the sovereign, independent parts. In other words, instead of being a vast democracy of the whole, we are composed of thirty-four democracies—instead of being subject to one huge majority of the whole, we are subject to thirty-four majorities.

The argument which is frequently resorted to, to prove the unity of the American people, is founded upon the loose and improper use of language.

We often hear it said that there must be such a thing as the American people; regarded as a political element, because a person is said to be a citizen of the whole Union, or he is called an "*American citizen*;" and this common colloquial phrase is turned into a serious argument to prove that we are a great consolidated Nation, instead of being a Confederation of States, or political sovereignties. The phrase "*American citizen*" is unobjectionable as applied in ordinary conversation, and it is even proper when used to characterize the relations existing between our people and foreign nations. Foreigners know nothing of us, and cannot come in contact with us politically, except through the Federal Government.

Indeed, the chief purpose of the formation of the latter, was to transact international affairs with other nations.

Those nations have nothing to do with the States, as such, and are not required to recog-

nize their existence, and any question between one of them and ourselves, in relation to the rights of an individual, is not to be determined by a reference to the State of which he is a citizen, but to the Federal Government, which is clothed with the power to protect him. Hence, it is not improper to speak of a citizen of Massachusetts or Kentucky, in connection with his relations to foreigners, as an American citizen; but when we come to his domestic relations, it is clearly a *misnomer*.

The true doctrine is, that every man is a citizen of the State in which he lives or is naturalized, with the privilege of citizenship in the other States.

It is true that the Constitution gives to Congress the power to provide "an uniform rule of naturalization;" but this power is fulfilled and exhausted by providing the rule. It does not change the character of the citizenship granted, but leaves it as it was before. A citizen made under the rule established by Congress, has precisely the same right as a citizen made under a rule established by a State, in the absence of the Congressional rule.

This is shown by the terms of another Constitutional provision, which provides that a citizen of the State shall have the privileges of citizenship in all the other States. But if we are all citizens of the country at large, this provision is worse than useless; it is foolish; for as citizens of the whole country, we should necessarily be citizens of every part, and entitled to all civil rights and privileges.

The language of the Constitution favors the idea of our being a government of the absolute majority, still less than the general theory of our institutions.

If we are a consolidated people subject to the will of the numerical majority, there must be some mode provided by which that majority can express its will. Now it so happens, that among all the political acts provided for in the Constitution, there is not a single one which requires a majority of the whole people to render it valid.

The Governor of a State can only be chosen by a majority of the voters, but the President of the United States is not chosen by the people at all. He is chosen by the Electoral College, which is elected by the people or Legislature of each of the States, and not by the people at large of all the States, and it may often happen, and actually has happened, that a majority of the Electoral College stood opposed in sentiment to a majority of the whole people.

Lincoln himself, as we all know, was elected by a minority of the entire people. Members of the House of Representatives are also elected by a popular majority of the people of each of the States, and not by the people at large, and in their cases, as in that of the President, it may often happen that a majority of Congress actually represents a minority of the entire population of the country. The Senate is chosen by the Legislatures of the States; each State, whether large or small, having two Senators. There is, therefore, even less pretense for saying, that that body represents the majority of the whole people, than there is for saying that the President or House of Representatives does.

All the political affairs of government are entrusted to these three, (I do not include the Judiciary, because it is not pretended that it is a representative body), and yet it clearly appears that all three may, at any one time, rep-

resent a minority of the whole people—though not a minority of the States.

If the absolute majority be a governing element in our system, there must be some mode in being by which it can operate and express its will. Yet it appears from the foregoing analysis, that there is not a single governmental act contemplated by our Constitution, to the validity of which the consent of the absolute majority is requisite. Hence, it follows that the absolute majority is not a governing element.

While upon this subject of the powers of majorities, I would say, that under no form of government are they absolute. The government even of the Athenian democracy, the purest form of democracy known to history, was limited in various ways. The government of an uncontrolled, unlimited majority, would be far more oppressive and intolerable than the government of any single despot the world ever saw.

The reason of this is obvious. A single ruler, however tyrannical, knows that his own well-being is involved in that of his whole people; and therefore he will never do anything to impair their prosperity. Individuals he may oppress; but unless he be a fool, he will never interfere with the private affairs of the masses.

A mere numerical majority is subject to no such restraints. Such a majority always commits the error of regarding itself as identical with the whole people, and, if acting under this really selfish delusion, it oppresses the few. It consoles itself with the reflection that the benefit accrues to the many. Besides, individuals rarely reflect, and are guided, in some measure at least, by the dictates of reason—the multitude, however honest and well intentioned, rarely reflects, and are governed far more by impulse than by judgment. It is because of the tendency of majorities that written constitutions are provided, which are the voluntary fetters imposed by the people upon their own passions and desires, in order to save weak minorities from this injurious effect.

This is really the sole object of all constitutions, and, I may say, of all laws.

Majorities are always sufficiently strong for self-protection, the few alone require it at the hands of society; and, as by the original compact of society, the rights of the minority are as sacred as those of the majority, the rights of one man as sacred as those of a thousand—it becomes necessary to erect barriers of written restraints and constitutional covenants to protect those rights from the unthinking rapacity of the multitude.

The Constitution of the United States is admirably adapted to the great purpose of all constitutions—the protection of the weak against the strong. The great principle of the concurrent, instead of the absolute majority, which pervades every part of it, renders next to impossible any legal combination of the many to oppress any particular section of our country, howsoever feeble. Then, too, the State, by virtue of their sovereignty and reserved rights, may, at any time, interpose, and arrest the hand of the Federal Government, when guilty of a violation of the Federal Constitution.

Our Government, when kept within the letter and spirit of the Constitution, is the noblest of all forms of political wisdom the world ever saw. And yet, from the Constitution has been the direct cause of all the difficulties which our country exhibits. In the present unnatural sect and strife, and it is worse, than a foolish dream to suppose we can ever extricate ourselves by any light means, than a frank and honest return to the true principle, which lies at the foundation of our institution.

NUMBER FIVE.

In my previous number I concluded my remarks on the general theory of our Federal system. The present will be devoted to a discussion of two questions of practical importance to the States of this Union, as well as to individual citizens. Before commencing, however, I would, in obedience to the dictates of candor, tell a little of the opposition advanced by me, I have been repudiated by very high authority, viz: the Supreme Court of the United States. That tribunal, it is true,

has always acknowledged the federal character of our Government; but upon questions of construction it has departed widely from the Democratic standard.

This fact, standing alone, might lead Democrats to doubt the correctness of their conclusions; but, fortunately, it is too easy of explanation to have that effect. I have before adverted to the efforts of the National party, calling itself "federal," to subvert the Constitution by means of construction and patronage.

That party, having at an early day obtained power, in pursuance of its previously conceived plan, at once filled the Judiciary with men known for their devotion to the principles of Hamilton, and hatred to those of Jefferson. Owing to the odium excited by the *Alien and Sedition* laws, the political wing of the party was very soon driven from power; but the Judges thus appointed, holding by a life tenure, remained in office long after the other departments of Government had passed to the Democrats. Hence arose a conflict upon constitutional construction between the political and judicial departments, which was only terminated a few years since by a majority of the Court becoming Democratic. In this long contest, the Bench was represented by the all-pervading genius of Marshall, and the learning of Story, while its opponents organized under the leadership of Jefferson, Madison, Mason, John Taylor, Calhoun, and Woodbury.

As a display of dialectics, it might be difficult for a caudal man to determine to which party should be ascribed the victory; but he who carefully examines our system of government, will probably arrive at the conclusion that to the statesmen of the Democratic party do we owe the preservation of just and well founded views of constitutional construction. This may be deemed a digression, but one not altogether useless, since it points out the source of the strange differences of opinion existing between all men, as to the powers conferred by the Constitution. A similar conflict raged for many years between the Judiciary and the Whig statesmen of England, and at this day, we are assured by the historian that that great country owes the preservation of her free institutions, not to her Bacons—her Hales—her Mansfields; and her Eldons—the chosen guardians of the law—but to her Hampdens, her Sidneys, and her Foxes, who knew nothing of law but what they incidentally gleaned from history, or from long service in the House of Commons.

To return to the two questions mentioned. There are,

1. In the event of a final disagreement between the Federal Government and a State, which must yield to the other, and where does the right or power reside of judging, in the final event, of infractions of the Constitution, and of redressing them?

2. To whom, under our system, is allegiance due?

To the first question the answer is obvious. It necessarily follows from the character of our institutions; from the sovereignty of the States; from the authority of the Federal Government being delegated, and not original; from the want of a constitutional grant; and from the absence of any common judicial power, that the State, and it alone must finally determine all controversies between itself and itself, and such determination must be final, because there is no appeal.

An effort was made by the Constitution to make Congress the final power, by giving that body a negative upon all State laws, but failed because it was deemed inconsistent with our system. It is a tried rule, that when a matter is left to two or more persons, no one can prevail, except by lot, and in the end it is left to itself—at its own peril, of course. After the Constitution was ratified, nothing was more to be feared for the Supreme Court, than that it would be so completely refused by the Convention to Congress.

But the Supreme Court, like all other judicial bodies, showed a wonderful power, and courageously determined to be independent of man. Moreover, the Supreme Court is only one branch of the Federal Government, and as such, the Federal Government cannot take it out of existence. If the Government should attempt to do so, it would be to its ruin, for the power would be left to the State, and the branch of it cannot be sold to itself.

How absurd, under any pretext, to say that the mere consent should have the right of being given to upon the extent of its own power! If that right were given, it would ere long end in the total subversion of all State sovereignty.

eighty, and in the absolute consolidation of our Government. It would make the discretion of Government, and not the Constitution, the sole rule of political action.

Suppose I should select an agent for the transaction of certain business; and that, in addition to the specific limited agency, I give him the right to judge of the extent of his authority. Is any man so blind as not to perceive that this power alone renders the agency unlimited, and places me absolutely at the mercy of my creature? Would not such a provision, in effect reverse our relative positions, and render me servant to my servant?

It obviously would; and such too would necessarily be the result, if the Federal Government, or any branch thereof, was endowed with a like power of final judgment.

The limitations of the Constitution would become no limitations, and the Federal Government, for all practical purposes, would become absolute.

It is obvious that the same reasoning will apply to controversies between two or more States—there being no common arbiter to determine them. These views are embraced in the resolutions of the Virginia and Kentucky Legislatures in 1798, drawn by Madison and Jefferson; and have ever since been the corner stone of the constitutional creed of the Democratic party.

If the Federal Government does not possess the power of final judgment between itself and a State, it follows that it cannot coerce or use force against a State; because it cannot determine the occasion that will justify force. And again, if the State has the right of judging in the last resort, its judgment in any given case must be absolutely final and conclusive; and hence, can never justify a resort to force by its agent, the Federal Government.

Besides, the right of coercion in the Federal Government would directly subvert that equality of the States, which lies at the foundation of our whole federal system. The exercise of this right of final judgment by a State, if it amount to an infraction of the compact of the Constitution, may, we admit, justify a resort to arms by the other States who are parties to the compact, for the purpose of compelling her to keep her engagements—upon the principle that any Nation may be coerced by force, into the performance of its obligations.

But this is a very different thing from the right claimed now a-days—for the Federal Government—the mere creature and servant of the States.

In conclusion upon this point, I would observe, that an attempt to confer the power of coercion upon the Federal Government, was made in the Convention, but was defeated, for the same reasons precisely which induced the Convention to withhold a negative upon State laws from that Government.

The debates of the Convention upon the question will amply repay perusal even in this day, when the authority of our greatest men is contemned, and right confounded with wrong.

To the second question, of where allegiance is due, the answer is equally without difficulty. I have already, in a former number, hinted at the difference between *obedience* and *allegiance* and will now proceed to a further expiation.

The word "allegiance" is used to express those ties which bind an individual to the State which protects him. It is also commonly used to define the duty which the citizen owes to the State, in return for its protection. It is either natural, or, acquired and local—either permanent or temporary. It is always due to the sovereign of the State, whoever that sovereign may be; because the sovereign alone affords protection.

To this end, the sovereign of course adopts adequate instruments. Those instruments, in our country, are the State and Federal Governments, the laws enacted by them, and the officers who execute those laws. To enable the sovereign to afford just protection to each, it is necessary that its agents or instruments should be respected by all. Hence we owe obedience to the Constitution, both State and Federal; to all laws duly enacted; and to each of the officers of Government, from the President down to the Town Constable, when acting within the scope of their authority. Nor are there any degrees in our duty of obedience, it being as absolute in the one case as in the other. Thus, our obligation

to obey the commands of the Town Constable, is precisely too same as our obligation to obey the behests of the President, or Governor. In either case, we are bound only so far as the commands are legal; but of the legality we must judge at our peril. In the same way, our obligation of respect and obedience to the laws of the land is the same in degree in all cases. Different penalties may be provided for the infringement of different laws, and the moral guilt of disobedience may be greater in some cases than in others; but our obligation to obey them *as laws*, and considered in reference to their origin, is the same in all cases. The Constitution of the United States is no more binding on me than the State Constitution; nor a law of Congress, than an Act of the State Legislature.

In a former number, I have pointed out that the citizen was obliged to obey the acts of the Federal Government, because his sovereign, the State, has by the compact of the Constitution pledged his obedience. The same is true of the State Government and laws; and of State and Federal officials. In every case where our obedience is due, it is so because the people of the State have so agreed; and we, by virtue of our *allegiance*, must conform ourselves to their agreement.

Should they see proper at any time, to revoke their consent, then is our obligation to obedience revoked at the same moment.

Nor can we as citizens living in natural subjection to our Sovereign, question the lawfulness or policy of such revocation; for when our State requires us to withdraw the obedience hitherto paid to any Government or laws, we are as much compelled to respect this command, as we were to respect the original command to pay such obedience.

It thus appears that obedience and allegiance differ in the following important respects: 1st. As respects the objects to which they are due. I may owe obedience in many places at the same time; but allegiance is due to one alone, the Sovereign. 2d. As to origin.

Allegiance is a natural tie binding the citizen in subjection to the Sovereign; while obedience is an artificial, derivation duty, depending upon the consent of the Sovereign.

It will be observed that the tie of allegiance necessarily involves the duty of obedience; that is, I am bound to pay implicit and unhesitating obedience to my Sovereign, by virtue of my allegiance.

And when my Sovereign requires me to transfer my obedience to its agents and instruments, I am as much bound to do so by reason of my allegiance, as if it exacted it directly. In fact, in obeying its agents, I really obey it, as my whole obligation to obey is predicated upon its requirements. In the same way, as already stated, when it exonerates me from the duty to obey in any particular case, I am equally bound by its commands.

It follows from this, that allegiance is in all cases paramount to the duty of obedience; and that, should they ever come in conflict, the latter must yield. It is, indeed, impossible that they should ever really come in conflict, because the moment my duty to obey ceases to be in accordance with my allegiance, it also wholly ceases to be a duty. But cases of attempted conflict may, and have actually occurred, and to them will equally apply the conclusion just given.

It follows from all this, that a citizen can never be guilty of a crime in obeying his State against the world. It matters not how boldly the State may be, or how senseless may be its action; it may be answerable, but its citizens are never.

This follows of course from the sovereignty of the State, and the nature of allegiance. The reader must be careful to discriminate in this place between the State and the State Government. I have formerly admitted that the authority of the Federal and State Governments is exactly alike within the scope of their respective jurisdictions; and that, in case of conflict between them, we must obey that which is in the right. The reason of this is, that we owe allegiance to neither, but obedience to both; and both are mere agents of equal dignity, of the Sovereign.

Hence it is that the citizens of those States whose Legislature have nullified the provision of the Constitution, relative to fugitive slaves, are under no obligation to obey the nullifying law; because it is the act of the State Government, as contradistinguished from

the State, or people of the State. In fact, for this reason, obedience to the pretended law would be a crime. Had those States called Conventions of the people, and nullified the Federal Constitution by sovereign acts, the people would have had no choice but implicit obedience. The States themselves would have doubtless been liable to punishment for their infraction of the compact, in the only way in which Sovereign States can be liable to punishment—by an appeal to arms—but the citizens by adhering to their allegiance could never become criminals.

The Federalists of 1812, also went to work in the wrong way in effecting their alleged object of dissolving the Union.

Instead of calling a Convention of the people of each of the seceded States, and adopting a secession ordinance for each, they called a Convention of citizens from several States, which, of course, could not be said to represent any sovereign authority. Had they passed a Union ordinance, it would have been a simple nullity; because they had no authority, and any citizen acting in obedience thereto, would have been guilty of treason.

The declaration of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1845, that the annexation of Texas was a sufficient cause for secession, was, as a mere declaration of opinion by the members, perfectly legitimate, provided they thought so; but if they had proceeded to act upon it, and declare the State out of the Union, their act would have been null and void, for the simple reason that the Legislature, not being a party to the compact, and not having ratified it, could not, at its pleasure, refuse to be governed by it. The power that ratified could alone rescind; and that power was the State, and not the State Government.

But what, it may be asked, must be done in the event a State secedes without cause; if we cannot punish her citizens, how can we redress the wrong done by her? To this I answer: True, you cannot punish the citizen, as an individual, for giving his obedience where his Sovereign requires him to give it; but you may punish the whole body of the citizens—that is, you may make war upon the State.

The Constitution of the United States is a compact, all the more sacred, because, unlike ordinary compacts or leagues, it creates a government, and an union of one parties thereto. We have before said that if, in case of a compact between Sovereigns, one party refuses obedience to its provisions, there being no superior to give redress for the wrong and no common judge to determine the dispute, the other parties may appeal to arms as a remedy.

This is the common practice of mankind; and it follows therefrom, that if a part of the States have unjustifiably left the Union, the other States may make war upon them. We say "the other States," in order to exclude the idea of the right being in the Federal Government, though probably they may carry on the war through the Government, as Agents.

The reader will observe that we do not necessarily admit what is called the "right of secession." In fact this phrase is a *misnomer*. Secession may be founded upon insufficient grounds, and then instead of being *right*, it is totally *wrong*. Probably it should rather be called "the power of secession," for all that is meant by it is, that the act of a sovereign State, in severing its connection with the Union, whether justifiable or not, is *absolutely* binding on its citizens. However unpopular, for the moment, it may be, this is the doctrine of the Constitution; and it must finally receive the sanction of all who respect that bond of alliance between these States. The very word of an modern political theories, which have food the land under the auspices of a sectional Administration is that the citizen shall be held responsible for the act of his sovereign State—an act which he has no option but to obey.

This Union and Constitution framed to promote peace, tranquility and harmony, instead of being made the instruments of safety to the State, and protection to the citizen, are used to oppress the one and destroy the other.

I have already drawn this out to too great a length. In my next, and last I shall pursue the same subject to a conclusion.

That war may be declared against the seceding States no one denies. But it should be declared and carried on, like all other wars, for a legitimate cause, and in a legitimate manner. The present, or Lincoln's war, is objectionable because it is a *war*—and is unconstitutional, and because the means used are equally so.

There is no under the Spanish pretext of restoring the Union, the real war of the Union—A war not contemplated by the Constitution, and every act taken by the Administration to carry out its present policy is in the State of that Union. The power of restoring the Union, the Union, was not given by the Constitution, is not of any nature, and is not a war, but a *war*—an arbitrary scheme ever conceived by a party or party faction.

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could have urged, had they but possessed the wit to know it. But the notable device has been at last discovered, and Abraham Lincoln is entitled to the affectionate regard of all the tyrants, petty and great, in the world for the discovery. Henceforth, whenever any villainous bully attacks a weak or sickly person, he can justify himself by this new found apology for violence and wrong. Should Austria again send her Haynauin to Hungary, or Russia, some gentleman with a name composed entirely of consonants, to Circassia, with directions to kill, burn and destroy all that they cannot carry off as *contraband*, all they have to do in either case, is to appeal to the ethics of the American President, and they stand acquitted in the eyes of history and the world.

Away with such miserable nonsense, such silly pretences! Let those who have brought this war upon us avow its true objects. Let them tell the people that their purpose is, first to abolish slavery; and secondly, to bring the people of the South into subjection to them; that, desisting of keeping the South in subjection any longer by means of tariffs and other partial and sectional legislation, they can only effect the same end by an appeal to arms; that in short, after breaking down the domestic institutions of one-half of the country, they will compel the people residing there to buy of them, at their own prices. By making this avowal, they would at least have the merit of honesty—a merit they can lay no claim to, as it is—and would be equally near the attainment of their ends, as they are at present.

Instead of appealing to the Constitution for authority to prosecute this unholy war, the Abolitionists and their allies invoke an Act of Congress.

We might well refuse to discuss constitutional questions, with men who refuse to go for light to the source of information, or who, more properly reject its authority altogether.

Congress has, from time to time, passed so many Statutes infringing both the Constitution and the reserved rights of the States, that authority for almost any political monstrosity may be found on its Statute books. The United States Bank, the Tariff, and a hundred other enactments, now usually considered unconstitutional, would be perfectly valid and constitutional, if we are to take Congress for it. Two Statutes, notoriously unconstitutional, the Alien and Sedition laws, were passed by the same party (at about the same time), who enacted the law of 1795.

But we waive our privilege of refusal, and join issue upon the construction of the Statutes. Our position is, that that law cannot apply to acts performed by State authority.

1st. Because States are not named in it; and it would be against every sound rule of construction to extend a criminal Statute to cases not mentioned in it. As a matter of fact, every reader of history knows that the chief object of this law was to suppress resistance to State authority—not acts done under it. It was, in truth, an effort on the part of Congress to secure to the States that guaranty of the Constitution, which pledges Congress to protect each State from foreign invasion, and internal insurrection. This is manifest from the language of the act itself, as well as from the history of that period.

It was passed in the place of the Act of 1792, which had been found imperfect, or inconvenient.

It provides, first, for repelling invasions from foreign nations, and the Indian tribes; next, for putting down rebellion to State authority; and lastly, for enforcing the federal laws against combinations of men, and armed resistance too powerful for the efforts of the civil officers.

That this, and this alone, is what was intended, is shown by the fact that the 2d section provides for calling out the militia of the very State where the resistance is found, to uphold the federal laws. See Story's laws, vol. 1, page 389.

What an absurdity it would be, if those acting by State authority were intended!

In that case the Statute would, in effect, be made to say that the President shall call out the people of the State to suppress themselves! The Statute also speaks of the duty of the Marshals of each of the districts, in connection with the line of conduct prescribed by the President; thus showing conclusively that it merely

intended to provide a *posse committatus* to aid in carrying the law into effect.

2d. From the character of the Congress which passed the Act, I infer that no such construction was intended. Many of those who then sat in Congress had been members of the Convention that framed the Constitution. Those men knew that Mr. Randolph had endeavored to engraft on the Constitution a power in the Federal Government to use force against a State.

They knew further, how it was opposed by Madison, Hamilton, George Mason and many other leading men of the Convention, and how, finally, it was almost unanimously voted down. At that day constitutional obligations were, in some measure at least, respected, and it is scarcely credible that these men, knowing what they did, would have supported an Act, which they certainly knew to be unconstitutional.

But what is the use of argument to prove what is not denied? All Republicans sufficiently educated to understand the subject, and sufficiently candid to avow the truth, admit that Lincoln has violated the Constitution. He himself admits it. In a message to Congress, abounding in greater ignorance, grosser stupidity, and more unscrupulous recklessness of assertion than ever before disgraced an American State paper, Abraham Lincoln admits, almost in terms, his infractions of the fundamental law, and, in effect, appeals to Congress for a bill of indemnity, to save him from the consequences of his conduct. The sole ground upon which he and his followers pretend to justify his action, is that of "necessity." Did it never strike them how inconsistent it was to support the Constitution by unconstitutional means? how absurd the idea of its being necessary to disobey the Constitution in order to preserve it!

Surely the Constitution provides the means of enforcing all constitutional powers! That instrument does not authorize its own infraction in any case; and to a sensible man, it is a conclusive argument against the constitutionality of any asserted power, that it can only be enforced by unconstitutional means.

It is a waste of time to argue against the constitutionality of Lincoln's war. Every man, woman and child of ordinary intelligence knows that it is unconstitutional. The leading Abolition press, have in effect, long since admitted it. Some of them have proposed the total abolition of all State lines and State jurisdiction. Now why is this, unless they feel the conviction, that under our form of Government, as it is, the Federal Government has not the powers claimed for it? If it has those powers, then the proposed change would be unnecessary, from their point of view; if it has not, then is the entire policy of the Administration at war with the Constitution.

The "Union and Constitution" may be convenient catch words to gull the populace, but wise men will know that the real object of this war is neither the Constitution nor Union. They will feel strong doubts whether any portion of that party which has always been the foe of the Constitution and Union, and has continually opposed our country when engaged in foreign wars, and sympathized with our enemies, can entertain any very lofty sentiments of patriotism or affection for our institutions; and they will know that the leaders of that party, the authors of the "irrepressible conflict," (the true disunion creed) cannot. They will seek and find in other quarters, the true source of the war. They will see that the insane hatred of some for the institution of Slavery, or more properly, for Slave owners, combined with the miserably selfish desire of the greater number, to keep the South in subjection to North rail wealth, Northern Bankers, Northern Importers, Northern Manufacturers, are the true causes, thinly veiled with a pretence of patriotism, which under the leadership of a silly clown, have precipitated us into the most terrific war the world ever saw. Thank Heaven, there is reason to hope that it cannot continue very long! The expense alone must cause it to end ere many years pass away. The party most devoted to the war policy have never been noted for liberality of expenditure, either of blood or treasure. Those Democrats who have been seduced into fighting the battle of their Republican foes must ere long perceive the error they have committed, and endeavor to repair it. Thousands of good men born in the North live in the South, and many born in the South have cast their lots in the North.

These men cannot very long consent to see their adopted homes arrayed in hostile conflict against the land of their birth. They will soon begin to reflect, and whenever they do, their first step will be to terminate the present fraternal strife. Besides, all classes of men must soon see the utter futility, the folly, the hopelessness of ever subduing the South.

They may invade every Southern State, and occupy every Southern town, only to be farther off than ever from their proposed object. In the language of Chatham, they may conquer the *maps of the South*, but they can never subjugate the people, nor compel them to return to that love and affection for the Union, which has alone held us together so long; or what is far more important to the chief promoters of the war, induce them to buy of the North at a great, and sell to it at a small profit; and all this, the people, unless stricken by God's providence with the most hopeless mental blindness, must come, ere long, to see.

Such are our expectations. Whether well founded or not, time alone will show. Should the reverse be true, should our people be fully imbued with the spirit of strife, and the present be but the prelude to a thirty years' war, such as once desolated all Germany, and indeed all Europe, then God alone can save us, there is no hope in man.

I have now reached my conclusion. If in the foregoing papers I have done aught to enlighten the understanding of a single just thinking, honest hearted man, or induce him to ponder and reflect upon the genius of our institutions, I feel myself fully repaid for my trouble: and even if I should totally fail in this object, I shall still have the satisfaction arising from the performance of what, to me appears an important duty.

DEMOCRAT.



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AND

ULYSSES S. GRANT:

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HAM LINCOLN, AND LIEUT.-GEN. ULYSSES S. GRANT,
WILL PLEASE TO READ THIS WORK.

PUBLISHED BY

A. T. RÖLLNER, PRACTICAL PHRENOLOGIST.

1864.

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APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

OF THE

United States of America.

THE time of the election for the Presidentialship of the United States of America is come. The welfare, unity and power of a great nation is to be placed in the hands of one man. It becomes the duty of every citizen to wield his power and influence in the right channel,—to choose a Captain endowed with talents, energies, will and perseverance able to rescue the Ship out of the storm, and guide it into a safe harbor.

The time is come to throw your influence on the scale which will decide the man who, for the coming term of years, will rule the political affairs of our Country. It is a critical time, indeed. Every man is called to give this great matter of a nation's welfare an honest consideration, according to his own judgment. Yet, there are thousands who are undecided, having neither time nor opportunity to gain reliable knowledge of the candidate whom they would otherwise support. I consider it my duty, interested in the welfare of our great nation, to examine the man strictly and scientifically, according to the Science of Phrenology and Physiognomy: as an especial favor, reveal unto you the character of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

SIR:—You bear a striking and impressive countenance. Your oval head and face indicate a vigorous, active, energetic mind, strongly marked character, manifesting a superior capacity for both perception and conception; large firmness, self-reliance and perseverance in your engagements; constancy in love and friendship. These signs indicate the acknowledged leader in the sphere of life, attaining success by means of energy and perseverance rather than by deep scheming.

In temperament the motive predominates, being very largely developed; confers great muscular power and physical strength; a love for labor, lifting, working with great ease of action and endurance, and renders you strong, tough, thorough-going, forcible, and of powerful emotion; strongly marked, determined, impressive, both physically and mentally, stamping your character on all you touch.

The mental temperament being largely developed, combine with the motive, indicate and afford you great power of deep and sound reasoning, clear judgment, and a manifestation, not only of superior talents, but of the solid, reasoning, investigating intellect.

Your vital temperament is fully developed; supplies you and sustains your body with that strength and power which enable you to put forth such tremendous efforts in your actions. This temperament being fully developed, is accompanied by large combativeness, destructiveness and firmness. These very organs are indispensable to those who engage in great undertakings, or would rise to eminence.

These three temperaments, so strongly united in you, endow you with that swaying, commanding and leading character, gives you power of mind and body, and makes you our Commander-in-Chief.

Having briefly explained your temperament with its significance, I proceed to examine closely the special traits of your character. As I often engage in studying the characters of great men, which gives me special pleasure, I find your physiognomy resembles very much those of other great men, especially those self-made men—a Frederick the Great, Wellington, Washington, or a Jackson, and others.

You have a high, massive and fully developed forehead, a high and full crown, a calm, keen eye, full of truthfulness and sympathy, a very prominent nose, a straight, manly mouth, and a fully developed chin. Such a face reveals a great deal even to the common observer, how much more to a practical physiognomist. A whole volume might easily be written (and a very interesting one) on your physiognomy. Yet, in my remarks I must be brief.

Firmness, conscientiousness, hope and benevolence are large, indicating steadfastness—to cling to what is right, and to punish the wrong—a love for justice and liberty. Your benevolence, combined with large social organs, render you kind and affectionate to your family and acquaintance, generous toward strangers, sympathizing and administering relief to those who suffer pain or sickness. Veneration and spirituality nearly full, filling you with reverence and faith. Your worship is sincere, yet without much ceremony or form.

Your leading organs of the moral faculties being large, combine with full imitation, ideality and sublimity, create in you an aspiration after goodness, virtue, purity and strict moral principle, integrity, love of right, and sense of accountability and obligation. You love justice and truth, regard duty, are disposed to fulfill promises and agreements, have an internal motive to approve the right and condemn the wrong, with a desire to reform. Your forehead being high, it endows you

with natural greatness of intellect and judgment, high talents, sound sense and clear reasoning power and comprehensiveness of mind. The moral and intellectual organs, so prominent, make you great in whatsoever you do. They give you that control and self-command which has raised you from step to step, till you fill the very highest position obtainable in this, our glorious Country. There is an unusual fulness over the eyes, which endows you with power to judge of the value and usefulness of all you see, with extraordinary power to observe. You have a constructing, planning mind, with large, practical judgment in general.

Behold the eye! how calm and steady, yet how keen and piercing! how quick to observe and read the character of men at a glance! Full of hope, sympathy, truthfulness and self-command. No passion or intemperance is admitted. All unjust desires are kept in check by a steady, iron will. Then, in those eyes I see a noble, honest, steadfast and intellectual look, combined with reverence, modesty and cheerfulness. Those noble eyes are, indeed, a fit emblem for a crown. They never yet disdained a smile, nor trembled at a frown.

Again, I see a large and compact nose of the Roman type. What an amount of greatness, of the leading, commanding and swaying character, combined with force, industry, economy and cool courage; a desire to encounter danger and difficulties; a will to stand on the defensive, to protect one's self, defend friend and country, and build defensive works, fortifications and men-of-war. All these are indispensable to a commander—a large Roman nose and prominent cheek-bones. We find all great commanders, from Julius Cæsar to Napoleon, Wellington, Blucher, and others. They all had prominent noses and full cheek-bones, and so has our great Commander-in-Chief.

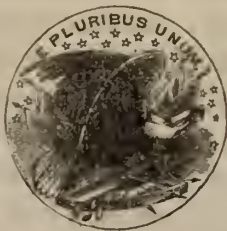
Behold the large, straight and manly mouth, with its expressions of purity, love and friendship, steadfastness, perseverance and firmness! What large comprehensiveness, concentration and application—clearness and precision; and the lover part how full and prominent, indicating very large patriotism and philanthropy. You, like Washington, furnish a marked example of the most exalted patriotism and warm love for mankind in general.

You have an exalted, noble and aspiring mind, combined with honesty in motives, love for liberty, and desire to act and speak freely without hesitation; a general confidence in your strength, abilities, and sincere and upright motives, and having those and many other qualities so highly developed, you could rarely fail to leave your mark on all you touch. Yet, you are apt rather to place too much confidence in those whom you needs must engage. The scripture says "Watch," and again it says, "Watch—prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

You are freely disposed to forgive often; too much so—especially in time of war. There should be less allowance for neglect or imprudence, but rather a doubly strict observance of law and its execution, combined with severe punishment on all who venture to disobey or are found guilty, especially to those employed in the service of the Government. In the time of war it becomes every individual to be doubly suspicious, to sharpen their watchfulness, and to be ever on their guard. In regard to your health, continue your strict observance of the rule of temperance; take no less than eight hours of sleep, which will enable you to accomplish your daily difficult task with ease and pleasure, and bring forth powerful and sound judgment and actions which have so nobly marked your steps and deeds, and are indispensable for our noble Commander-in-Chief.

The examination of your great and exalted character leads me to say that your past life has been full of hard physical and mental labor, encounters and adventures of difficulties and dangers. Your constant love and desire for action has found engagements and difficulties sufficient to break the strongest constitution; yet, hard out-door employment in your youth, solid and plain living,—strict love and observance of temperance and virtue has fortified you with unusually strong muscles, a powerful frame, large vital and mental organs, a wiry and tough constitution, and aspiring mind and body, which can rarely fail to crown your efforts with success.

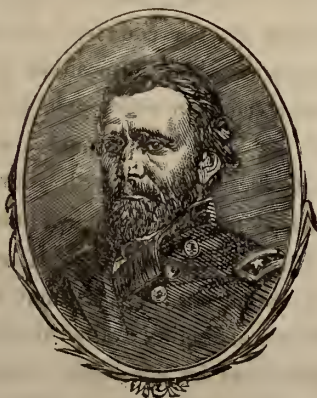
On your future life permit me to remark: Walk before God and be perfect. He has said—"I will renew my covenant with thee." He will multiply and bless the nation you are called to preside over. Peace and unity shall be restored under your administration. You shall reap the reward of your labor more abundantly. Accomplish your will and lay down the scepter, freely followed by the good will of God and man. Your name shall be written on the list of those who spent their lives and energies nobly, in the service of their country.



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

PHRENOLOGICAL CHARACTER.

Of the various likenesses of warriors, who have raised themselves by honest motives, cool courage and high mental and physical power and talent, the above represents to us one of the most striking in appearance, uniting in the one person all those talents and energies, both physical and mental, which are indispensable for all who would become truly great, and mark their career and action in every department of life, with prudence, power, self-command and ability, creating esteem, love and confidence, and crowning every effort with honor and success.



Much, indeed, depends upon the various talents, capacities and energies of any person who would rise to eminence, yet much also upon the honest and true motive. Napoleon stands yet

fresh in our memory—he fought for the glory of France; his talents as a warrior and statesman are indisputable; we have beheld his glory, yet also his downward career and final fall. Not love of honor, but rather love for duty and country inspired Blucher, Wellington and Washington, they stood like rocks through all the torrents and storms of life: they, by honest and sincere motives accomplished their great and difficult task. We have beheld their triumphant career and glorious end.

Examining the character of U. S. Grant in a moral aspect, we find a full, broad and high head, with large benevolence, firmness and conscientiousness, with full hope, veneration and faith. These are the greatest gifts of God bestowed on man. Strict moral principle, regard for duty and love for mankind are generally accompanied by affection and sympathy, and reverence for God and religion. Your morals being fully developed, strengthened by steadfastness and self-reliance, inspire you with honest and true motives, love for duty, and strict observance for the welfare of your country. A disinterested mind for honor or glory, but rather a disposition to assign the honor of any victory, achieved even under your command, to others, filling them with love and esteem and a desire to obey and yield their strength in accordance with your will, endeavoring to do all to be worthy of their noble commander.

The high standing of your moral character fills me, indeed, with the greatest confidence; yet, without force of character, even Luther, with all his highly exalted morals, could not have reformed the world had he not been possessed of such immense destructiveness, combativeness and general force of character. It matters not whether we fight with the sword in hand or the word of God, we must be endowed with force and perseverance to achieve the victory.

Your head being white and fully developed around the ears, indicate large destructiveness, combativeness and executive-ness, giving you force and resistance, cool courage to meet the enemy, brave dangers and difficulties, and even disable or destroy whatsoever opposes you, yet having secretiveness and cautiousness also full, you are mindful of dangers, will not venture too freely, make little sacrifice, are cool and self-possessed, not hurrying yourself or others into destructiveness, but rather take time and opportunity and then fight with advantage and success.

Your practical judgment and calculating power are rather high. You judge the qualifications of men and other material things correctly; have an excellent eye to measure; you possess a superior talent in horsemanship, great talent for the study of geography and mathematics, remember places and countenances once seen quite well, and the time when and how things occurred easily, better than the names thereof; your order and calculation are immense; language not quite full, hence you have more thoughts than words; what you have to say is in the fewest words, burdened with thoughts; you write little and to the point; make short speeches, yet full of meaning and impression; you rather make plans and execute them, than to speak about or reveal them to others, except when needful. Your eye appears very calm and fixed, full of deep thought; there is nothing nervous or irritable in your look, but rather decision, firmness and cool courage; your look is deep and scrutinizing, seeing and perceiving all that transpires around, yet say nothing, perhaps do nothing either, until the time for action is ripe; then, even men of a far seeing mind wonder and are surprised over those deep plans, their execution, final success and victory.

Your high and full forehead indicates a superior power of reasoning, comparing and investigating; good common sense and sound judgment, give you self-command, enable you easily to rule all your other faculties and make them yield to reason. There is an even counterbalance in those various faculties, bringing forth a combination of well-together-netted plans and actions, which cannot fail to accomplish at last the great end for which they were designed.

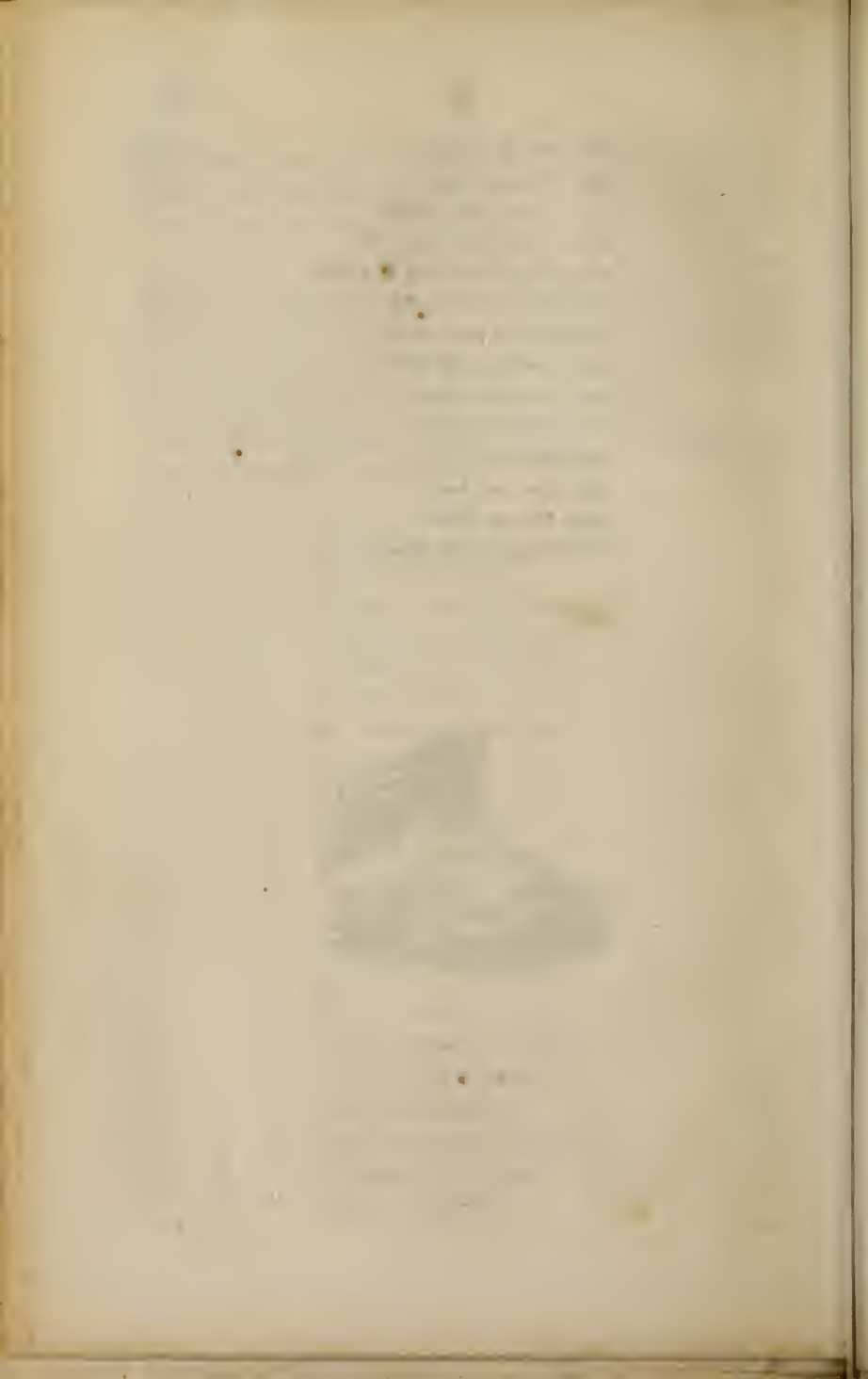
Taking a general view of your countenance, with its expression and indication, it fills us with the greatest confidence in your qualification as commander of a great army: there is a superior mind, full of deep thoughts, planning, constructing and investigating intellect, with great power to concentrate, comprehend and apply both mind and body perseveringly to whatsoever duty you are called upon to perform. What an immense force, persistence and cool courage are resting there, sufficient to brave and battle all the difficulties and dangers which the most rebellious war could ever produce; moreover, aided by cool calculation and sober judgment, ability to comprehend dangers and difficulties in the right light, with talents to provide and secure means to overcome them and yield glorious ends!

Then notice the breadth and fullness of the face and body in general, indicating firstly, an even balanced mind, combining all conditions of power, activity and susceptibility, well governed feelings, with great force of both character and intellect, perfect consistency and discretion, a power to restrain or call into exercise every faculty and employ it in whatsoever you find to do; secondly, a strong constitution, a tough and wiry brain, power to endure hardships, live on strong and plain food, do with little sleep—which is sound and refreshing—and creating more than sufficient steam to be ever ready for action, take

hold of projects with both hands, and drive forward in spite of obstacles, and accomplish those deeds and actions in which those presiding over you really felt.

Such is the character, constitution and principle of our noble hero: he has, in the past days, proved himself worthy, earning step by step the confidence of the people, achieving success here and victory there with little sacrifice; ever adding states and cities to our Union, till he was acknowledged the most successful general, and has finally become chief commander of the Union army. How unlike was it with McClellan, who, by recommendations, love for high station, or even money or gain, raised himself at the sacrifice of the honor of our country and the noble blood of our heroic soldiers through folly and incapability, sacrificing a noble army, gaining nothing but dishonor and the reproach of a nation. Through the recommendation of others, he was raised to the command of the army. His campaigns were marked by defeats and desperate blows received from the enemy, without almost any resistance; shameful retreats and disasters have answered the question on the reliability of recommendation. Then permit me to say, rely upon no recommendation which speaks louder than words. Has not the unconditional Grant recommended himself by his deeds of heroism? Through his superior talents he has become the acknowledged leader.

He is the lion of the west at whose frown the enemy trembles, at his tremendous roar their nation quakes, their cities fall; their hills and valleys echo and re-echo, pronouncing their ruin; He is moving upon his prey, and before we see the latter end of the present month, the lion shall roar louder and more tremendous than ever, and when he roars their cities shall fall, their nation shall tremble and their power be destroyed.



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SPEECH

OF

JUDGE BURBANK,

IN THE

SENATE OF CALIFORNIA,

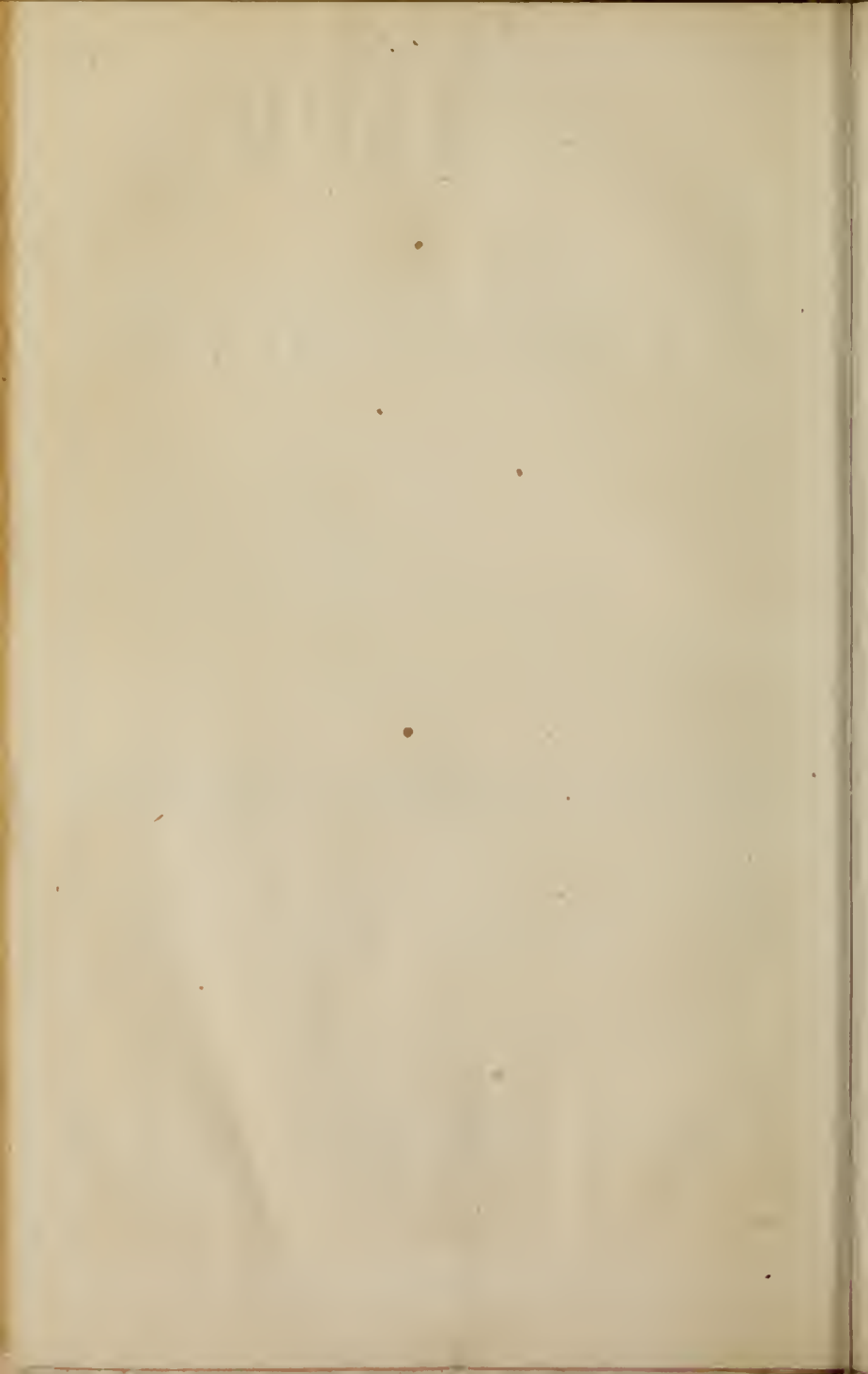
FEBRUARY 7th, 1861,

ON THE

UNION RESOLUTIONS.

SACRAMENTO:

J. ANTHONY & CO., PRINTERS, UNION BOOK AND JOB OFFICE.
1861.



SPEECH.

MR. BURBANK—Mr. President, when I first saw the sun of this beautiful morning, shedding its light over the world, and its genial influences upon all mankind, I thought, sir, that it would be very proper to consider its origin and its purposes, and it seems to me, Mr. President, that the more any man considers the origin of that luminary and its purposes, the more he will honor its author and appreciate his blessings. The light of that luminary lights up the world, and its genial influences give life, and health, and vigor to all living things. It was observed, yesterday, by the Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt), that this was not the time, nor the occasion, for the consideration of the Constitution, or its purposes, or the rights that spring up under it—I do not give the exact language of the honorable Senator; I give the sentiment that his language conveyed. I do not mean to misrepresent a word, or a thought, of any Senator of this body; but it struck me at the time that the Senator so said, that he was entirely mistaken in the object of this discussion. How can we properly consider the resolutions before us unless we consider the Constitution itself, and its purposes? The very object of this discussion has a direct reference to the Constitution itself, and the Union of these States, and the rights and the privileges that have grown up under it, and also the abuses of the Constitution which are supposed to exist. If there was nothing, Mr. President, upon this occasion about which we should be concerned, why are we here to-day discussing anything? If there is nothing wrong, why should we spend our time so needlessly, and without a purpose, in discussing resolutions of this nature? I disagree with the Senator from Mariposa. I think that it is of the first importance to consider the origin of the Constitution and the Union, and its purposes, in order to know how to feel and how to act in relation to that sacred instrument. I think that it is well to consider what the influences of this Union and Constitution have been upon a nation of freemen. I think it is well to consider, when that instrument is in danger, how much would be lost if it was broken asunder. How is it possible that we can consider its value without taking into consideration these matters—its importance of itself, its consequences, its benefits, its injury if lost? When the Senator from Mariposa says that King George III. made a mistake when he said that the thirteen Colonies must be coerced into subordination, what are we to understand by that? I suppose the Senator from Mariposa wishes this Senate to understand that he conceives there is a parallel between the relations of King George III. and the Colonies in 1776, upon one hand, and the Government of the United States and South Carolina on the other. If the Senator from Mariposa means that I understand him; if he means anything else than that, I do not understand him. What, Mr. President, did the Colonies complain of? What does South Carolina complain of as against the General Government of this country? Where are the complaints? Who has published them? Who has known them? Who has felt the wrong of this Government upon any portion of the Union? If so, what are these wrongs? Who has held them up for the examination of mankind? Let us see for one moment what the condition of the thirteen Colonies was

in 1776, and see if we can find any parallel between their relations to the crown of England, and the relation of South Carolina to this Government. Mr. President, we must look into this matter, and see, if there is any, what that relation is. The people, sir, of the thirteen colonies, had good causes of complaint, and they made them known to the world. They published them, and while these causes of complaint existed, no human power could coerce the people to submit. What did King George do? What were those complaints? Let facts speak for themselves, and we shall learn the relations which existed between the crown of England and the colonies of America: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." Does this Government undertake to exert an absolute tyranny over any portion of this Union? "He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good." Has the Government of this country, of this Union, done any such thing as that? "He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation until his assent should be obtained, and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them." Has this Government done any such thing as that towards South Carolina or any other State? "He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only." Where has this Government been guilty of any such wrong from its beginning to the present day? "He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures." Look abroad upon our Government, from its origin to the present day, and say if anything like this can be charged upon it. "He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within." Is there, I ask, anything like this in this country? Has this Government exercised any such unwarranted authority? If so, where has it been exhibited? "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made Judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries." Has any such thing as that been done toward South Carolina, or North Carolina, or any other State? "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power." These, Mr. President, are some of the causes, some of the reasons why the Colonies rose up as one man and declared to the world that no power existed among men by which they could be compelled to bear these evils, and submit to this oppression. Are these causes similar to any action taken by the General Government toward South Carolina, or any other State? And yet the Senator from Mariposa says that King George made a mistake when he refused concession. Why, sir, these abuses, these insults, were continued for years, and a generous and noble people objected over and over again, for years. Why is King George brought into this issue, except to show that he stood in the same rela-

tion to the Thirteen Colonies that this General Government stands in towards South Carolina? We may as well meet the fallacies presented in this issue, first as last. No man need come here and pretend to discuss the sense of these resolutions, and then fly off at a tangent and discuss something else. The time has come when that kind of dodging wout do. The people of this country call upon their public men for firmness, and call upon the Senator from Mariposa to stand up like a man and vindicate the Constitution of his country against every wrong, and every invasion, and every insurrection, and every treason, let it come from where it may. If a man, Mr. President, is a Union man when the Union needs no help from his hand, and then is no Union man when the Union is in danger, let such men be few and far between. The time has come, and now is, when he that is for the Union of his country is for the Union of that country when that country is in peril. The Senator from Mariposa has told us, Mr. President, that we are in the midst of a revolution. He says, too, perhaps with great truth, that that revolution is going on; it is marching onward. What does he propose to do to stop that revolution? What does he propose to do to stop treason, if it exists? What does he propose to do to resist rebellion, and to maintain, I hope, the supremacy of the law of the land? Has he made any proposition to do this? If he has, I have had the misfortune not to understand him. I would not pay so much attention to what that Senator said if indeed I had not some respect for him, and if indeed I had not some respect for the country that he and I both live in. That Senator says, with emphasis, that the way to meet this present difficulty—the way to meet this threatening attitude of affairs—is clear to his mind. He says, and I think he distinctly recommends, that the way for the Government to proceed is to proceed not at all. And it is fairly to be inferred from what he says, that if any State, or any portion of a State, should attempt to tear down the National Capitol while the Stars and Stripes wave over it, his voice would be the same; that the same protective power that he invokes now—in action and supineness—he would invoke then. That is the Senator's position. Now, if that is reasonable, if that is right, let us all embrace that position, and let that Senator be the champion of the Constitution upon that ground. Let him have the honor and the name of suggesting the right mode of preserving the Union in the midst of peril. But, Mr. President, if that Senator will run the hazard of taking ground against the Union by his argument, let me say to him that he sleeps his last sleep politically, that he has fought his last battle, and no sound can awake him to glory again. [Laughter.] Any man who on this occasion, in this crisis, in this extraordinary condition of things, takes ground by argument or position against the Union and the Constitution, may read his political destiny in the setting sun. But, Mr. President, let me not abuse or misrepresent one word that that Senator said, or one hair of his head. There is no beauty in discussion, there is no honor in argument, if we are to leave the truth of the argument and plead to what it does not contain. I mean to hold the Senator to the record. I mean that he shall come upon and abide by his record. I say his argument is an apology for what has been done against this Government. Let me not misrepresent the Senator. When a man makes an argument in this country, or in this body, he must be bound by that argument. The words it contains must explain themselves. So stands that Senator's argument, and if it has strength in it, if it has patriotism in it, let it live forever; but if it has neither, let it die its death. Suppose, Mr. President, that any patriotic man was tired of this Union. Suppose that he did not believe in its virtue or its strength. Would he say so at this particular juncture? Would he be prepared in the present condition of things, and the present feeling of the country to say that he was opposed to this Union and this Government? Not at all. What would he say? He would probably instead of saying that, find an apology for its overthrow, find an excuse for rebellion, an excuse

for treason. Is the Senator aware of what has taken place in this country within a recent period? He has not referred to the acts that have been done against his own country. He has not intimated that anything wrong has been done. He has not told this Senate that he disapproves of a single act of South Carolina. And at this particular juncture, if he did disapprove of the acts done there, why not say so boldly? If there is anything wrong in one part of the country, why not let the sentiment of the country rebuke the wrong? Is not that right? Is not that the way to let a wholesome public sentiment be felt? Certainly, that is the advantage of the intelligence, and that means of intelligence, which a representative government has over all others.

Whilst I refer to South Carolina, I may be addressing men from the Palmetto State, and I mean to do it with respect for those men and with proper respect for that State. I base these remarks upon, and I couple this argument with, the idea that South Carolina this day is one of the sister States of this sisterhood of States. I base it also upon the idea that the people of South Carolina are the people of this Union upon this lovely morning. I also am free to acknowledge, free to say, that the people of South Carolina are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. It is with this idea that I address my remarks to the Senate upon these resolutions, and if I did not have that sentiment and that feeling I would let the resolutions all go to the shades; they should not occupy a moment of my time. When I speak of the acts of South Carolina, I speak of them as her own acts. When it shall appear that those acts are wrong, let South Carolina know that we think so, and if South Carolina has any regard for our opinions she may profit by it. But whilst we, like the Senator from Mariposa, say nothing in relation to those acts at all, neither condemning them nor approving them, how can the Palmetto State know how we regard her acts? I can tell the Senator that I have brothers in the South, and that I have relations in the South; and as a national man, I know no difference between the sunny plains of the South and the bleak mountains of the North, and never will I know any difference when I am discussing a national question of right or policy. How could these resolutions have been introduced with any propriety at all, unless it were true that somebody, at some time and under some circumstances, in this nation, had done some wrong to the Government? What sense, what reason, what philosophy, what anything, could be found in the resolutions, unless something wrong had been supposed to be done? Now let us consider what has been done, and who has done it. If it is right, let us commend it; if it is wrong, we will condemn it. Is it true that South Carolina, within the last six months, has been collecting arms and ammunition, the implements of death, to be used against somebody? Is that true? I so understand the Senator in substance. Why is all this done in a time of peace, when there sits at the head of the Government the very man that South Carolina put there? It is against her own Government and the Administration of her own choice that she has acted. Is it true that South Carolina has bid defiance to the power of this nation? Is it true that South Carolina has fired her cannon upon an American ship, over which the Stars and Stripes floated, a ship over which the ensign of our country was unfurled to the breeze? Has she done that? Has she repeatedly fired upon that ship, when it was under the direction of the President of the United States, and for purposes lawful and proper? The Senator from Mariposa has not referred to it. I suppose these are the facts which we have come here to discuss, to see what they should lead to, and what should be done to avert the coming storm. If we did not come for some such purpose as that, we had better dismiss the resolutions. Now, so far as that Senator is concerned, or his motives are concerned, let it be understood that I charge him with no improper design. I charge him with a mistake. I charge him with taking a position unwarranted by the present state of the country and un-

warranted by the circumstances of the time. But that Senator was pleased to say, and he did say, that it was an extraordinary thing to his mind, that some men who now hold up their hands high for order and union and the supremacy of the law, were found a little while ago trampling upon that very law. He says that is extraordinary to him. It may be so. If that Senator says that in San Francisco the law of the country was violated, I shall not dispute him. If he says that he found me among six thousand men acting in opposition to the law of the country, I will not dispute him. If he says that I was found there, with those six thousand men, without my name upon the record, I will not dispute that. If he says, further, which may not be the case, that my name is upon the record, I will not deny it. And if it will suit the Senator any better to say that he wishes my name put upon the record, I say to him let him put it on to-day, and it shall stand the same as if it had been put on in 1856; I will never dispute the date of its being put there. But when that Senator turns to San Francisco, and the six thousand men collected there at the time doing acts contrary to the laws of their country, I ask him to look at the circumstances. Does not that Senator well remember that those six thousand men of San Francisco did not propose to secede from the State of California? The six thousand men of San Francisco never proposed to leave the Union or to leave the State. They never proposed to resist the Government because the Government had injured San Francisco. What did they propose to do? Those six thousand men proposed to do this: When the law of the country was found insufficient to protect life and property in that city; when blood stained every street in San Francisco; when the people, in spite of the existing law, were startled from their beds by the midnight cry of "Murder," over and over again; when the streets ran red with blood in the day time from the hand of the assassin, and the law was found insufficient to give protection, those six thousand men rose up—an act never to be denied by me—and took their own business into their own hands for the time being, to save life and property from the destruction which the law could not prevent. Now, let the Senator charge me with being there, and at the same time let me call his attention to another thing. Where was that Senator, and what did he say, about that time? I hold him to the record. The Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt) can scarcely expect that he can charge upon me inconsistency without my referring to his record, and to what the honorable Senator did about those days. Is it true that in 1856 he recommended that the force of this State, its military power, should be called upon to put down that rebellion? Does he deny that? Is it true that he recommended that Commissioners should be sent from this State to the City of Washington, to see the President and get the forces of the United States to come down and see whether they could not put an end to that rebellion—to see if there was force enough in this State and the United States which could be gathered together, to do what? To vindicate the law of the land. Do I misrepresent the Senator?

MR. MERRITT—Entirely.

MR. BURBANK—How entirely? The Senator says that I misrepresent his position. If I do, I have been misinformed in what I understood from others. Then I understand the Senator to say this, that he did not disapprove those acts, and did not advise resistance and compulsory measures to coerce the people back to order. Will the Senator answer the question whether he did or did not?

MR. MERRITT—I will answer the Senator that I advised nothing about it. I was not connected with the Government, and could give no advice about it.

MR. BURBANK—I ask the Senator if he took any stand at all at that time?

MR. MERRITT—Yes, sir, I did—against it.

MR. BURBANK—Exactly; he took a stand against it. Why? Because he was for the vindication of the supremacy of the law against all people who should trample

it under foot, even for temporary purposes. That was his position, I think. Now, if that was his position then, why has he changed? Would it be wrong for San Francisco to rise up in opposition to the law of the land for any purpose, and fight for South Carolina? Do not the two stand upon the same footing as to the matter of right? Can that Senator, with all his wisdom, and philosophy, and argument, show to me, and show to the satisfaction of the people, that a rule which would justify a movement in opposition to San Francisco would uphold South Carolina in firing into a United States ship? How will the Senator answer that? That is a matter for him to take care of. I say it is not words alone by which we judge men; and a man, when there is no danger to the country, no danger to the Union or the Constitution, may say "Union"—he may write a book in which there shall be no other word than "Union"—and what will it amount to at a time when the Government stands in no need of help? If, when the Government does stand in need of help, the same man writes a book in which the word "Union" does not appear within its lids, what kind of a Union man would that be? I hope there will be very few such in this country.

Now, if the Senator will pardon me, I will pay my respects to another Senator. What I have said with regard to the Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt) has been said in no unkindness to him. I give my opinion of his record, and that, I think, is fair debate. I regret that the honorable Senator from El Dorado (Mr. Crittenden) is not here. That Senator, the other day, in discussing these resolutions, gave one important piece of information to this Senate. He said that he loved South Carolina, that he was born there; that there he saw the first sunlight; that there he breathed his first breath of air; that he loved that State, and would always love it, and always defend it. In the expression of that sentiment, that noble feeling, the galleries caught the sympathy, and gave a responsive applause. My own heart felt it when that Senator said he loved his State, and loved his mother, and loved his native land—and I responded that is right, the same everywhere. But after he had said all that, I could not help asking myself what, upon the whole, it proved. Why, sir, it proved this: that if the Senator spoke his sentiments, it was really true that he was born in South Carolina; that it was absolutely true that he loved that State, and that it was also true that he would defend her—that is what it proved. But how much did it prove on this question, whether South Carolina was right or wrong? That is the question. How much proof did that Senator give of his opinion upon whether that State was right or wrong? I might say that I loved the State of Maine, and I do. I was born there. I was born where the sun rises, and I live near where it sets. [Laughter.] It has been said that where I lived was so far East that the people had to hitch a tackle to the sun to get it up in the morning. [Laughter.] Be it so; be it so. Could I help where I was born? Had I anything to do with the place? A man is born, and he finds himself there before he knows it. [Great laughter.] A man can no more help being born in Maine than he can help being born in South Carolina or Virginia. It is all the same. Charge it upon no man that he was born in any particular place. If he says he was born all along the coast, how in the world can we help it or blame him? [Laughter.] So much for the Senator from El Dorado (Mr. Crittenden), a youthful Senator, a Senator that loves his country, that loves the Palmetto State, and loves his mother, loves his father, loves the place where he first drew breath, and loves the place where he first saw the light of the sun. He has given us that information, and I thank him. But he has given us no information as to the State of South Carolina, and what she has done, or whether he approves her acts or not. He simply says he will defend her. How will he defend her? We come here to inquire whether South Carolina is to blame or not; and if a man comes here to argue anything else, that argument is hardly pertinent to the issue. The Senator from El Dorado himself, who was born in South Carolina, in the Palmetto State, did not say that he approved of her act in firing upon a United States ship.

The PRESIDENT *pro tem.*—The Chair hopes the Senator will address his remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BURBANK—Mr. President, I am happy to address the Chair. I mean to address the Chair in the language of truth and soberness. Once in a while, Mr. President, it is a little relief to turn from the President and look upon my countrymen. [Laughter.] The President himself is one of our good citizens of the country; but he is not all the country. [Laughter.] I shall be entirely under the direction of the President, and entirely obedient to his suggestion. I have a word or two to say to another honorable Senator whom I see here. I have a great deal of respect for that Senator—the honorable Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton). He interested a large audience the other day, as I am not able to do, and about matters and things upon some of which I would not undertake to interest any audience. I will be a free man, and discuss the subjects which I think ought to be discussed. I will say in relation to that Senator, however, that he made an argument creditable to himself—creditable to his genius and industry. He discussed, however—it is not improper for me to say so, perhaps—those questions and subjects which I supposed had been absolutely settled twenty-nine years ago. The necessity of discussing those particular things which have been settled so long was a matter of taste for that gentleman. I will say, that the Senator may not misunderstand my motives, that I am an older man than he, not a wiser. I was twenty-one when the subjects of nullification and secession were discussed in our country twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago. I took an interest in that discussion—in what General Jackson said, in what Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Mr. Benton, and all the great men of that day said on those subjects. It is all familiar to my mind at the present day, and I had supposed that if any question could be settled by mortal man or by human power, that the question of secession and nullification was then settled in the minds of the whole American people. Therefore, as to this question I have no discussion to make. I take it for granted it has been settled long ago—a long time ago. [Laughter.] But that is not what I will particularly call the Senator's attention to at this time. I hold the Senator to his record, and I will bind him to the record, and he must stand by the record or fall by it. It is not allowed a man in this body to make a record and not stand up to the record. He must stand up to it here; he must stand up to it in the presence of his constituents, and must be responsible by it to his country. When I said I did not intend to enter into a political party debate in discussing this question, I said what I meant; I did not intend to let party issues come in here. Whether Douglas was right or wrong—whether Buchanan is the greatest, wisest, best man in the world, or not—I did not mean to discuss; for, in view of the elevated subject we are discussing—a subject in which the whole country takes an interest—I did not intend to enter upon any questions of mere party considerations. But, sir, the Senator from Napa was pleased to say certain things to which I take exception. Traveling out of the line of argument, he says that the Republican party is in the last agonies of death; he says that the Republican party has the Greeleyisms in it, and the Sewardisms, and the Sumnerisms, and that they are as poisons as the opium tree to the prosperity of the party and the country. He says, too, that the Republican party has against it the Supreme Court of the United States. He says that the Senate of the United States is against it. He says that the House of Representatives of the United States is against the party, and that it is in the last expiring agonies of death. Who, I ask, told the Senator all this? What book has he found it in—what almanac—what spelling-book? Not Webster's, for I read that myself. [Laughter.] What testament, new or old, contains any such idea as to the weakness of the Republican party, and proclaims, as the Senator thinks, that it is in the last expiring agonies of death? But, Mr. President, there is one thing to be considered. When

I, or you, or any Senator, has made a proposition, after it is made it stands there to his credit or discredit, as the case may be, and he must stand upon the record. Now, I ask, does the Senator from Napa estimate power? How does he estimate weakness? How does he estimate agony? [Loud laughter.] Perhaps he can tell us. But he says that the Republican party is so weak that it did not get but a little over a quarter of a million majority in the Northern States. But a little more than a quarter of a million—is it possible? Is that an indication of weakness? Is that an indication of sudden death? Is that any indication of the last agony? How much majority did Douglas get over the same ground? I never heard of any. Perhaps the Senator from Napa has heard that Douglas is elected President of the United States. I never heard of it, and if the Senator from Napa should say that he is elected, while I should not doubt his sincerity, I should doubt the correctness of his history. Perhaps the Senator from Napa has a rule for estimating the strength and weakness of a party, and if he says that a majority is an indication of weakness, and a minority an indication of strength, then I say to the Senator, by that rule he will probably, in a short time, have the strongest party in the land. [Laughter.] Now, I ask the Senator what kind of agony the Douglas party is in? Is it a dying agony or a living agony? And, as the question may put the Senator in a little dilemma, I will help him out. The condition of his party is this: The Douglas party has been ailing and in a bad state of health for a long time, and is getting no better very fast [laughter]; and if it is true that the party is to be restored to health, it will be an extraordinary instance of recovery under circumstances indicating constitutional debility and rapid decline. Mr. President, I object to this declaration made by the Senator from Napa in relation to this supposed weakness of the Republican party. And I call the Senator's attention to another circumstance: When he says the Supreme Court of the United States is against the Republican party, let me tell the Senator that the Republican party has something on its side. When he says that the Senate of the United States is against the party, let me remind the Senator that the Republican party has something on its own side. Why, sir, it has sound political principles. It has a President of the United States and a Vice President in a few days, in a few days. [Laughter.] And it has something more upon its side—it has the people. Is the party very weak? Is it a very inconsiderable party? Is it in the last agonies of death? Does the Senator suppose the party is starving? Does not the Senator see, as is usual after Presidential elections, a host of good men marching up to the public crib—do you think they are going to starve? Is the Republican party made up of such weak men, so modest, so retiring, so diffident in their manners they can't march up to the public crib? Sir, they are not going to die of starvation. And there is another thing to be considered in this charge against my party—I am a Republican. I never meant to ask that Senator what party he belonged to; but he forces me into it, and requires me to say what I think of that party. He has told the country what he thinks of it. I notify that Senator that six months ago the Republican party raised its banner to the breeze with no disunion on it. It unrolled its platform of principles and exposed them to thirty millions of free-men, and those principles were considered alongside of the Douglas platform of principles, and by the side of the Breckinridge platform of principles, and by the side of the Bell principles, if they had any. [Laughter.] Thirty millions of people considered all these platforms—not in one day alone, but in half a year of days. Every stump, every field, almost every church and school house in the land was a forum of debate upon those principles that were spread out before the people for their consideration. They were all debated fairly, for certainly the Douglas party is not wanting in talent—there is a wonderful evidence of what I say [pointing towards the Senator from Napa, Mr. Edgerton]. It is not wanting in philosophy of a certain kind. It is

not wanting in history. It is not wanting in eloquence. Why didn't you advocate those principles better? Why did you not make the people believe—these thirty millions of people, whose interests are dear to them—interests which concern them as a nation and as men—why did you not make them believe that your principles were right? Ha! you tried it! and after a fair consideration of a great and generous people, after all arguments the people decided—the free people of this country made a decision. What was it? They decided, after looking over the Douglas principles carefully, coolly, deliberately, honestly, that they could not accept them. They were compelled, they say, to reject them. That is the decision on that point. They looked at the Breckinridge principles with equal care, with equal solicitude, with the Administration and the money on its side, and with the high prestige of the name of Democracy. Still the people said upon the whole they would be very glad to support the old Democracy if they could see it; but they could not support its principles, and they rejected that platform, too. So it was with Mr. Bell—not that Senator Bell [pointing to the ex-Senator of Alameda, who was sitting near], because that Senator always rings out a better sound. What did these people say? Has that Senator (from Napa) forgotten? Only on the sixth of November it happened. What did the people say? Thirty millions of people said that they would take the Republican platform and its principles, and would acknowledge them to be the ruling principles of this country for four years. That is the verdict. Now does that Senator (Mr. Edgerton) suppose that he has power enough to convince the Republican party to-day that that is not a good verdict? Does he suppose, because he raises his voice here and proclaims weakness in advance, that it is weak, therefore? Not at all. It is not weak, sir. [The President in the chair.] The Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) has been pleased to say that Sewardism, Greeleyism and Sumnerism are a poison to the party, of which the party must die. Such is the sentiment of that Senator. These isms, he says, are to sting the party to its death; and he says, substantially, that they are enough to crowd a party down and put it in the last expiring agonies of death. Is that true philosophy? What has Senator Seward done that he should poison any party or any country? Does that Senator (Mr. Edgerton) point out anything against Senator Seward? Does not Senator Seward this day stand up among thirty millions of freemen, the tallest of them all perhaps? What has he done to hurt this country? What has he done to hurt any party? The gentleman is silent on that subject. What has Horace Greeley done that he should be an incubus on the party? Where is there a man of more intelligence, except the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton)? [Laughter.] Where is there a man of more extensive information and broader ideas, and more patriotic sentiments than Greeley, except the Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt)? And what has he against Sumner, the man of Massachusetts? Why he says Sumnerism is a poison. What has Sumner done? Is not he a statesman of the highest order? When that Senator from Napa can meet the arguments of Charles Sumner, and refute them—then what he says will be of some consequence. [Laughter.] When he will make a record of his own, showing that the principles of Charles Sumner cannot be supported, and must be refuted, and that he can refute them, he will be the tallest man in California, perhaps in the United States. I would go for him for the next President, if he will do it, and if he will do other things as well. It is a little remarkable that the Senator from Napa should select three perhaps of the most distinguished men of the Republican party, perhaps the ablest men, everything considered, in America at this day; men of high principles, sound intelligence, undoubted integrity, the deepest loyalty to the Government, and the most unalloyed patriotism—and say that these three men are an incubus to a party and rank poison to its success. When the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) will produce

from the Douglas party three as good and as able men, then he might have some reason to say that there are better men than those three, if those that he selected were better. When he produces three men from any party in this country that are more able, that are wiser, that are more patriotic, more respected, higher in the order of intellect—when he'll do that, I should like to be introduced to them. This country would like to have their services. Any party would be proud of them. But while those men I have referred to stand high in the nation's eye and in the nation's heart, it takes more than the mere assertion even of the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) to blast their fame or their reputation. Now, Mr. President, perhaps it is true that I have said as much in answer to the Senators as I ought, and as much, perhaps, as the nature of the case requires. I have endeavored to meet what they have said that was objectionable in my mind. Now, sir, I ask that the resolutions under discussion be read.

The SECRETARY read the resolutions reported by the Committee.

Mr. BURBANK—I will now undertake a discussion of the resolutions. I do not know that I shall be able to enlighten the Senate upon the questions embraced in these resolutions. I cannot tell how much difference may exist in the minds of men as to the degree of importance in which the subject matter of these resolutions is to be regarded. Difference of opinion may be honestly entertained as to the causes which have led to the present condition of affairs. The same difference of opinion may be found to exist as to what consequences will follow the present extraordinary antagonism of South Carolina to the Constitution and laws of the United States. How the present crisis should be met is a consideration of momentous interest. Whatever its causes may have been, whether real or imaginary, whether induced by the prevalence of Northern sentiment, or by Southern sentiment, the time has come when an uncommon event has actually taken place. In the origin of our Government, the men who framed it were not ignorant of the principles of human action. Their patriotism led them to hope for uninterrupted prosperity and unbroken harmony. They fondly hoped, as they looked into the future of this Government, that the fire of patriotism would in all coming time warm the hearts and strengthen the hands of the American people. They devoutly hoped that the warm life-blood, that the battle fields of the Revolution had copiously drunk in, would cement a Government too pure, too sacred for the touch of treason. They hoped that this Government would secure for ever the blessings of that liberty for which a Washington fought, a Warren fell, and a Henry plead. The great purposes of our Government are clearly and distinctly stated in the Constitution. Let the Constitution speak for itself, and tell the purposes for which it was made. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Here are the purposes of the organic law of this nation. So says the Constitution, so stands the record. The people ordained this Government for these purposes, and is not this record true? Did not the people, in their highest capacity, form a more perfect Union than that which was formed by the old confederation of States? Under the old confederation, the States entered into a league of friendship with each other. So stands the record. This league was made in 1777. A very few years of experience showed to the people that a simple league of friendship between States could not act directly upon the people, and was not a people's Government; and in 1787 our present Constitution was formed, ordained and established by the people, and it is a more perfect Union. It makes the people of all the States one people. They become the bees of one hive, with separate cells. Destroy the hive, and all the cells are exposed to one common

ruin. Our Constitution spreads its protecting power over all our domain, all our homes, all our separate properties and interests. It provides for the general welfare. It is intended to insure domestic tranquillity. All the great purposes of the Constitution have been secured—have been realized from the very date of its origin to the present day. And it is for the men of this day, of this age, in this juncture, at this crisis, to determine whether these great vital purposes for which the Government was ordained, shall still continue secure. It is for us to say whether the blessings of liberty shall be secured for us and for our posterity, or whether those blessings of liberty shall be forever lost to us and to our posterity. There can be no reasonable doubt in the mind and the soul of any true American, how this question ought to be determined. The grass-grown graves of our fathers, the monuments upon the battle grounds where brave men fell and liberty rose, the ensign of freedom that proudly floats over this capitol, our families and firesides, and the God of Liberty call upon us at this time to be men worthy of our sires, and worthy the liberty their valor won. This is not the time, this is not the day or the hour to discuss the questions of secession and nullification. Nearly thirty years ago these questions agitated our whole nation. From Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the lakes, the whole people were one great Committee of Inquiry and Investigation. The intellect, the wisdom and learning of that day were invoked, were called upon to discuss and determine these questions. They answered to the call. They did discuss them and determine them, and if, in the course of human events, it is possible for men or nations to make a final determination of any question, a final determination of the questions of secession and nullification was then made by a nation of freemen. Many men are now living who then felt the shock. The thunder of nullification shook the very hills, and filled the country with alarm and consternation. Nullification then threatened the Constitution, and defied its power. Nullification then had its representatives; it then had its advocates. Vice and wrong are never without their representatives—never without advocates—never without their sympathizers. Aaron Burr had his admirers, and Benedict Arnold had his friends. So had nullification its advocates and friends. What action did the people take at that time? What stand did the General Government then take? What said the President of the United States then? General Jackson may indeed have had his errors, may have had his enemies; he may not have been entirely perfect; but the General was a brave man, and a lover of his country. He was a patriot of the highest, noblest order. What stand did he take? He was for the Union, and against its enemies. He declared that the Union must and should be preserved. If General Jackson had no other claim upon his country's gratitude, but that noble stand he took when the integrity of the Union was threatened, for that alone he would be entitled to an undying gratitude and an imperishable fame. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" He was ready to breast the storm, to face the danger, and if need be to die gloriously in defense of the Great Charter of American liberty. May his great name, and his noble deeds forever live in the hearts of his countrymen. And while all true patriots shall find encouragement in his example, may the enemies to free government and our Constitution take warning and profit by it. Let the enemies to the Constitution remember that though General Jackson is dead, his spirit lives, his name lives, his word lives. All these live, and are this day and this hour preparing the minds and hearts of the people to follow his example and preserve the Union, so that no star shall fade from the bright constellation of stars—so that no beam, or post, or brace shall be torn out of the great framework of the Constitution. I hope I shall be excused from making an argument at this time to show that secession and nullification are impossible. I assume that it has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt that secession and nullification can never take place while our Constitution stands and the

Stars and Stripes wave over our National Capitol. And let us not forget him who defuded the Constitution nearly thirty years ago. He sleeps in his grave at Marshfield. But it is not all of him that sleeps in the grave. He also has a record; he also has a history; he also has a name wide as the earth, deep as philosophy, and powerful as eloquence. Such a man, though he be dead, still lives. In the day of storm and peril General Jackson looked to Daniel Webster for support, and he did not look in vain. When the lion of the Constitution started from his lair and shook from his mane the dew-drops of the morning, the tiger of secession slunk away into its hiding place. When the Constitution, through the lips of Webster, spoke in its power, nullification was hushed into silence. The voice that came up from the Constitution that day is in the ear of the American people this day. That voice will always speak, and nullification is dead. It is buried, and no voice can call it from the grave. Nullification needs no refutation at my hands. Secession and nullification grew upon the same soil, were nurtured by the same hands, they die the same death, they are buried in the same grave. They were not without power in their life time. They had power enough to destroy their own advocates. They had power enough to arouse a nation of freemen. But they have not power enough to destroy our glorious Constitution. When we turn our thoughts to the past, and by imagination survey the storm of 1833—when we see the flashes of lightning shooting across the political sky from the dark and threatening clouds, and hear the pealing thunder shaking the institutions of our land—we must not forget the Sage of Ashland. In that storm of storms, Henry Clay rose up, and lifted his lofty form above the warring elements, above the clouds themselves. His voice was heard. It rang out in tones of patriotism and eloquence. A nation listened, a nation was convinced, a nation was calmed. The storm was hushed, the clouds dispersed, and the bright sun of liberty and peace rose more bright and more beautiful than ever before. Henry Clay! may his voice never die! May his love of country, his love of the Constitution, his love of the Union, live in our hearts! May it animate the whole American people in all coming time! Be it so—and the Constitution and the Union will outlive the groveling schemes of ambition, will outlive the strifes of party, and the jealousies of sectionalism. They will outlive the prophecies of kings, and emperors, and autocrats—and they will outlive the works of rebellion and treason. They will outlive everything but the happiness and glory of mankind. There is no secession within the broad circumference of the American Union. But sir, there is a revolution. That revolution will either be a successful revolution and subvert the Government of the American people, or the American people, by the power of this Government, must resist and overcome the revolution, and assert and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws. In my judgment this is a statement of the case. This is the case, and we may properly consider the evidence which belongs to this case. I suppose that certain facts belonging to this case are admitted, and if admitted, need not be proved. It appears to be admitted that South Carolina has denied the right of the General Government to exercise jurisdiction over the persons, property or territory of that State; that she declares herself to be a free and independent State; that she owes no allegiance to the American Constitution; that she will defend herself in the maintenance of this position against the power of the General Government; that she will obey no ordinance, law or act passed or to be passed by Congress; that she will resist any attempt of the General Government to compel her obedience to the Government and laws of the United States. I understand it to be a fact that the people of South Carolina have taken Fort Moultrie from the possession of the General Government; that she threatens to take Fort Sumter; that when an American vessel under the flag of the Union and under the direction of the President of the United States, having on board men and supplies for Fort Sumter, en-

tered the harbor, South Carolina fired upon that vessel, and fired into that vessel, and by an armed force prevented the landing of that vessel at the port to which she had been sent by the authority of the Government of the United States. I understand it to be true that South Carolina, for more than six months last past, and in time of peace, has supplied herself with arms and munitions of war, for the avowed purpose of using them against the General Government. I believe it is admitted that South Carolina has done all this. This, then, is the case to be considered, to be met; and it needs no prophet to foretell how it will be considered by the American people, and how it will be met by them. One of the grand purposes of the American Union was to insure domestic tranquillity. Regarding it as a well settled proposition that secession is impossible, it follows that South Carolina is yet in the Union, and a part and portion of the Union, as well as Massachusetts or New York. Can any man doubt that the domestic tranquillity of the United States has been disturbed? "The Constitution provides that the Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all the treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." What is the opposite of domestic tranquillity? Insurrection upon any acre within the jurisdiction of the United States is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. An attempted revolution within the borders of our General Government is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. A wanton violation of the supreme law of the land is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. How can the General Government insure domestic tranquillity, while it allows the supreme law of the land to be trampled under foot? When the organic law of this nation declares its purpose to be to insure to all the people domestic tranquillity, how is it to be supposed that tranquillity can be insured while insurrection is allowed to destroy that tranquillity? When the purpose of the Constitution was to establish justice, how can that purpose be carried out if Courts are broken up and Judges hauled from their seats, and the supreme law of the land is set at defiance? Can it be supposed that the men who made and ordained our Government, and in it declared the purposes for which it was ordained, did not intend that these purposes should be carried out? Can a Government exist a single day without the power in itself to make laws and carry those laws into effect? When the Constitution declares its purpose to provide for the common defense, is it to be supposed that this common defense means nothing but a defense against a foreign power? When our Government is attacked, or threatened, or assailed, or put in danger by any power at home or abroad, is it not to be defended? Will the people of this nation defend her flag on the land, and on the sea, against all foreign powers on the globe, and at the same time say to the rebellion: "Tear down the flag of your country, sink the national ships and burn the national Capitol, if you will?" and is all that to be done without an effort to save them—without a struggle? What will the American people say to that? What will an American freeman, of whatever party or from whatever State, say to that? South Carolina has no more right to tear down the American flag than England has—no more right to fire her cannon into an American ship than France has; and if South Carolina will fire into an American ship under an American flag, is there no way to prevent her? Is there no way to rebuke her? Is there no power in our Government to maintain the laws of the land? Is there no power to punish treason, to quell insurrection, to stop rebellion, or to maintain the supremacy of the laws of the land? I think there is ample power to do all this; and I am the man who is not afraid to say it—certainly not in a land of freemen. When one Senator, the other day, asked another if he meant to say that no force could be used, the Senator said, in reply; "Did you understand me

so? Then you are mistaken." I will not be mistaken in what I mean to say. In my humble judgment, when the American Government, in the plenitude of her rightful power, shall speak to South Carolina as nations sometimes speak to treason and rebellion, her voice will be heard and obeyed. The voice of our National Government should have been spoken long ago, and in tones that could not be misunderstood; and if that had been done, universal tranquillity would be enjoyed at this hour. When the Government is compelled to resist a domestic enemy, it is to be done with a majesty and power equal to the emergency. It should compel all that obedience that the general safety and general good of the people require. It should never ask rebellion how long it intended to rebel; it should never ask the traitor how much more treason he intended to commit; it should never ask the leaders of a revolution how much of a revolution was intended; but it should stop it at once, and effectually. When it is asked how it is to be done; how treason and rebellion are to be stopped—when it is asked, it ought to be answered, and answered, too, by every man who has an American heart in his breast, a man who loves every inch of his country, and her whole people. It must be answered—there is no escape. You may answer it to-day, or you may delay it to-day; but you are bound sooner or later to answer that question. Why not ask how to sail a ship? To that question I would answer: I would sail her, if I had the power, in such a manner that she would reach her destined port. In a spirit of kindness and dignity I would make the crew do their duty while the stars and stripes should float from the masthead. I am free to answer the question "How shall treason and rebellion be met and stopped?" My answer is: "Let the supremacy of the law of the land be maintained all the time, and in all coming time." And I thank no man to stand aghast and hold up his hands in holy horror at my answer. If there is such a man here, I would ask him how long, to the best of his belief, it would take him and all others like him, in that way to quell an insurrection or subdue rebellion? When a hundred or a thousand men deliberately aim the most fatal implements of war and death, and discharge them upon the persons and property of the people of this Government, in defiance of the power of the Government itself, no man need ask what is the nature of the offense, or how it should be punished. I am one of the humblest members of this body; but I feel that a question is before us, and that question, by its decision, when made by the controlling power of the country, must affect, for good or evil, thirty millions of people. I am not unmindful that it should be discussed with that tone and temper which become a well-wisher of the public good. I have no motives to conceal. I have no convictions to smother. All who this day know my position in this crisis, may this day know where I shall stand in all coming time. My position is that we, the thirty millions of people, have this day a National Government, and that Government the wisest and the best that has ever blessed any nation upon the globe. And I will this day, and for the balance of my life, stand by the Constitution of our common country. And when war from without, or treason from within, would tear down that masterpiece of human wisdom that our Washington helped to construct, I will stand by the Constitution and defend it. It is only within a few short months that I ever supposed that we, the American people, could entertain any difference of opinion as to whether we have a Government; that American Senators could look one another in the face and ask if we have a General Government. While the Stars and Stripes float over this Capitol, and Washington [pointing to the portrait on the wall] looks down upon our deliberations, who is willing to say that the American people have no Government? Who is willing to say that it is lost, and lost without a struggle, and without an effort to preserve it? I say, who? I say it is not lost. We still have it. We will still hold to it, now and in all coming time; and we will uphold it in spite of treason and re-

bellion, come they from what quarter of the Union they may. This Government will stand the shock. Weak minds and weak men may not think so. Those who think that it cannot stand a shock do not know the throbbing, beating impulse of the great American heart. I tell you that when the question is presented to the American people, affecting their homes and every interest—the question whether we shall stand by the Union or not—they will rise up and say, “Let the Union be defended against every power that can be brought against it.” This Government will stand the shock and show her power, and will triumph over all her foes. When delusion and fanaticism shall have done their worst; when party spirit shall have exerted all its unpatriotic influences; when treason and rebellion shall have spent their utmost force, the people’s Government, the people’s Constitution will stand like a rock in the ocean, unmoved by the warring elements. Deeply fixed and imbedded in the hearts of the people, our Constitution will grow stronger and stronger, till its power shall be universally acknowledged and obeyed. It is for the enemies of the Union to say how much it will cost to defend and maintain this Union. It is for the restless spirits of the land to say how long it will take to secure to the people that domestic tranquillity which the Union was intended to insure. It is for the violators of the supreme law of the land to determine what it will cost to vindicate the supremacy of the law. That is a question for them to answer, and not for me. They best know the extent to which their resistance is intended to be carried. They best know their own purposes, and they best can tell how much it will cost the Government to defeat their purposes and maintain the Union. Gentlemen need not ask what it will cost to secure our national integrity and national honor. I cannot tell what it will cost. I cannot make the estimate. But I can tell what national liberty did cost. It cost the blood of the Revolution, seven years of grim-visaged war with all its horrors, millions of treasure, and the graves of thousands of patriots, whose love of liberty laid bare their bosoms to the shafts of death; and we fondly hope that the same love of liberty warms and animates our hearts this day, and we devoutly hope that the same love of liberty may animate the hearts of the American people in all coming time. But it is not alone the cost of freedom that fixes its value. The improved condition of a mighty nation under its influence, the happiness and prosperity of the past, the present, and succeeding millions of men, compel us to regard the cause of liberty and union as the cause above all other causes, of immeasurable magnitude—the cause not only dear to us as American freemen, proud of the ensign of liberty, and of its blessings, too; but dear, also, to millions of oppressed and down-trodden people in other lands, who look to the success of free institutions in this country with the deepest solicitude. They know full well that if liberty in America, planted by the right hand of a Washington, and watered by the life-blood of as brave men as ever fought the battles of their country, cannot thrive, cannot mature, cannot stand the great test of the great experiment of self-government, then it will be in vain for any land or any people to hope for the success of liberty and free institutions. I will not attempt to determine what it will cost to restore harmony, to insure domestic tranquillity, to give a fatal rebuke to treason, to put down rebellion, and to vindicate the supremacy of the law of the land. Let other men fix in their own minds the probable cost of all this. If the treasonable acts of any one State, or portion of a State could be measured by the geographical limits of the offending State, South Carolina would then stand in a position a thousand times less degrading than her present position. Then her disgrace would be the disgrace of South Carolina. Then her loss would be the loss of South Carolina alone. Then her dishonor would be the dishonor of South Carolina alone. Then her disloyalty would be the disloyalty of South Carolina alone. Then her future would be the result of her own merits and folly. But the acts of South Carolina cannot be so limited. The people of the American Union, in

the State of South Carolina, insulted the American flag, set at defiance the law of the land, and fired upon a Government ship to defeat the lawful purposes of the Government. The deep-toned thunder of rebellion and treason pealed upon the startled ears of thirty millions of people. Can any man doubt what pulsation of the great heart of the country must follow that deep-toned tocsin of war and defiance? It is not the character of South Carolina alone that is touched by the roar of that cannon. The character of the whole nation feels the shock. The American Union not only has a character at home to sustain, but she must maintain a character at home that will command respect abroad. Treason and rebellion may rise upon a single acre of American soil, but their unhallowed influence will reach the remotest corner of the civilized world. Rely upon it, when the American flag can with impunity be insulted at home, it will find no respect among the nations of the earth. As it is with a man, so it is with a nation. If a man has no respect for himself, how shall he ask others to respect him? Let no man infer from this argument that there is no national regard for Carolina. That the Union has abandoned her, and has no other feeling towards her but feelings of harshness. This is not the fact. Let England send her ships of war to Charleston, to invade South Carolina, and New England would be there in ten days, to drive old England into the sea, and to defend South Carolina against everybody but South Carolina herself, as against all the foreign nations of the earth. South Carolina has a friend on every acre of ground in America. Treason, sir, is not hostility to your enemies; it is hostility to your friends. When it is said that we must not stop the rebellion; that we must not speak out in potent tones against the revolution, it is also said that if the nation so speaks fraternal blood will stain the Palmetto State, and that a conflagration of war will sweep over the Republic. It is well to remember that the people of the thirty-three States live under a system of Government. It is not a despotism. This system cannot be broken in part without being broken in whole. Destroy any part of this grand system, and you have no system left. In this grand system of our Union, each State has its orbit, and cannot rush out of that orbit without bringing destruction upon the whole system.

“Let earth unbalanced from her orbit fly,
Planets and suns rush lawless through the sky.”

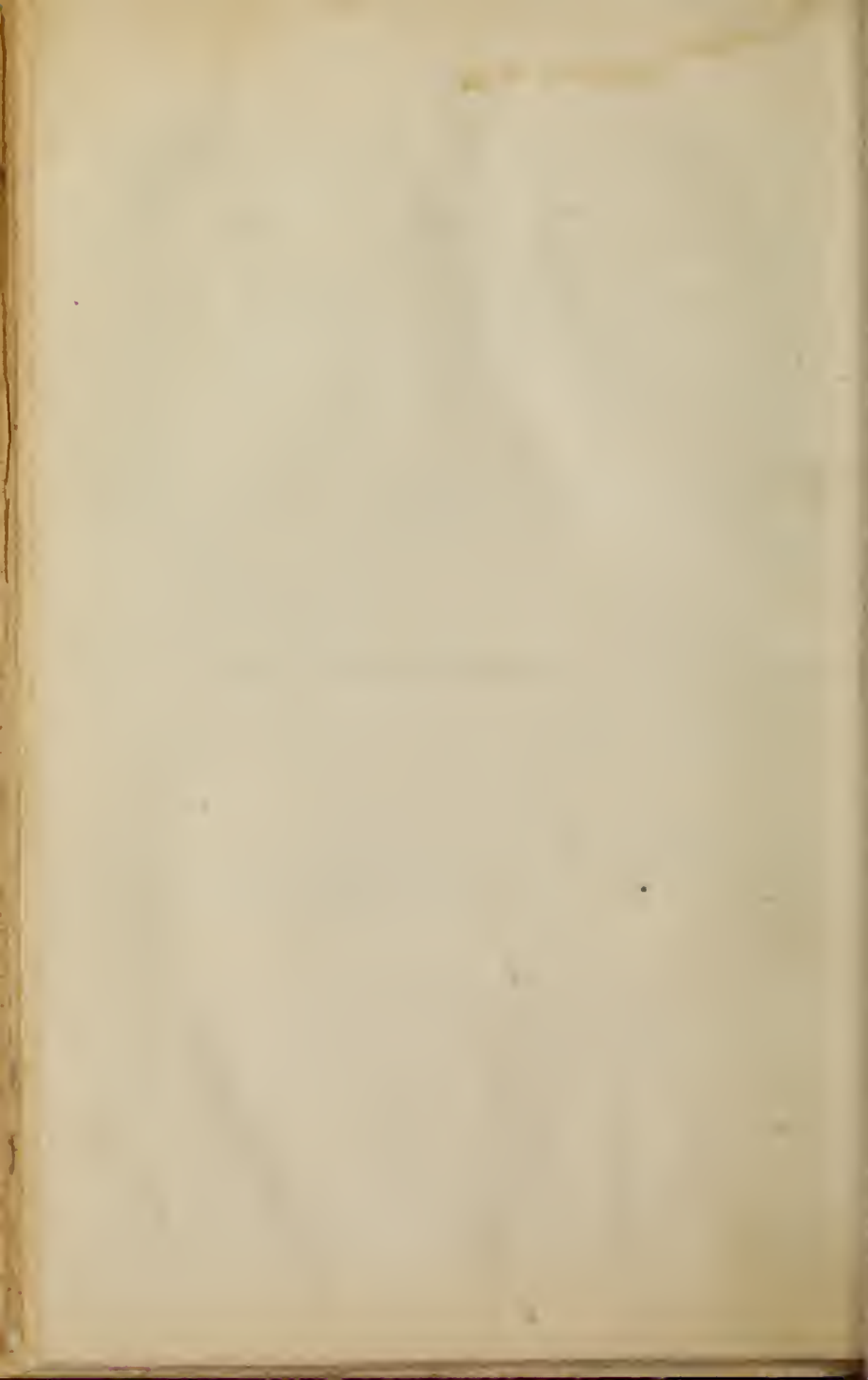
I would by all means avert the dread catastrophe of warring States. I would avert the awful scene of human woe, when,

“Like lava rolls the stream of blood,
And sweeps down empires with its flood.”

If harmony cannot be restored now, farewell to liberty, farewell to the Union, farewell to America and her hopes, farewell to the home of the brave and land of the free. The power of the General Government acting within its legitimate authority must stop the mad career of South Carolina, or South Carolina will break up this Union. The Union must control that State, or that State will control the Union. In my judgement there will be, in a few short months, but two political parties in the United States of America. One party will be for the Union and the other party against it. All former issues will be swallowed up in this grand issue. He that is not for the Union will be found against it. Every man must decide for himself. There never was a time in the history of this Government when political wheat and political chaff could be so completely separated as now. The smut and mildew of political weakness and political corruption will be sifted out from the solid wheat of political integrity and solid patriotism. On one side of this issue will be found the guardians of liberty, the lovers of the Union and the defenders of the Constitution. On the other side you may find men who believe that Washington, Franklin, Lang-

don, King, Johnson, Hamilton, Livingston, Dickinson, McHenry, Carroll, Madison, Williamson, Pinckney and Baldwin, were not so wise as the men of the present day, and that those men did not understand what form of government was best calculated to secure the blessing of liberty to themselves and to their posterity. You will find men who have not confidence in the constitutional doctrines of Madison, Jefferson, Wright, Cass, Jackson, Webster and Clay on one side. On the other side you will find the solid men of the nation, with fixed homes and fixed principles, and a joyous hope that their children's children shall enjoy the blessings of our liberty and our Union for ages to come. On the other hand you will find the restless spirits of filibustering ambition, the lovers of agitation and the advocates of secession and nullification. On the one side you will find the men who feel a deep responsibility and attachment to the great institutions of our common country, and will stand by them, uphold them and defend them. Men will take sides in this issue according to their political character. We know this must be so. The strength of our Union must depend upon the strength and devotion of its supporters. Let the friends of our Union be calm and wise in their deliberations. Let no unbridled passions dethrone their judgment. Let no party jealousy pollute their love of country. Let no political heresy shake their wonted faith in the wisdom of our fathers. Let our whole country be the controlling theme of our political solicitude, and all will be well and the Union shall be preserved.

Would to heaven that each and every man in our whole country, at this time and in all coming time, could feel that deep and glowing patriotism which swelled and moved the great heart of a great statesman, upon a momentous occasion, as he spoke out in tones of eloquence never to be forgotten: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious *Union*; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent, on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre; not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards,' but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment *dear* to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."



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THE WAR,

AND

HOW TO END IT.

BY

WILLIAM N. SLOCUM,

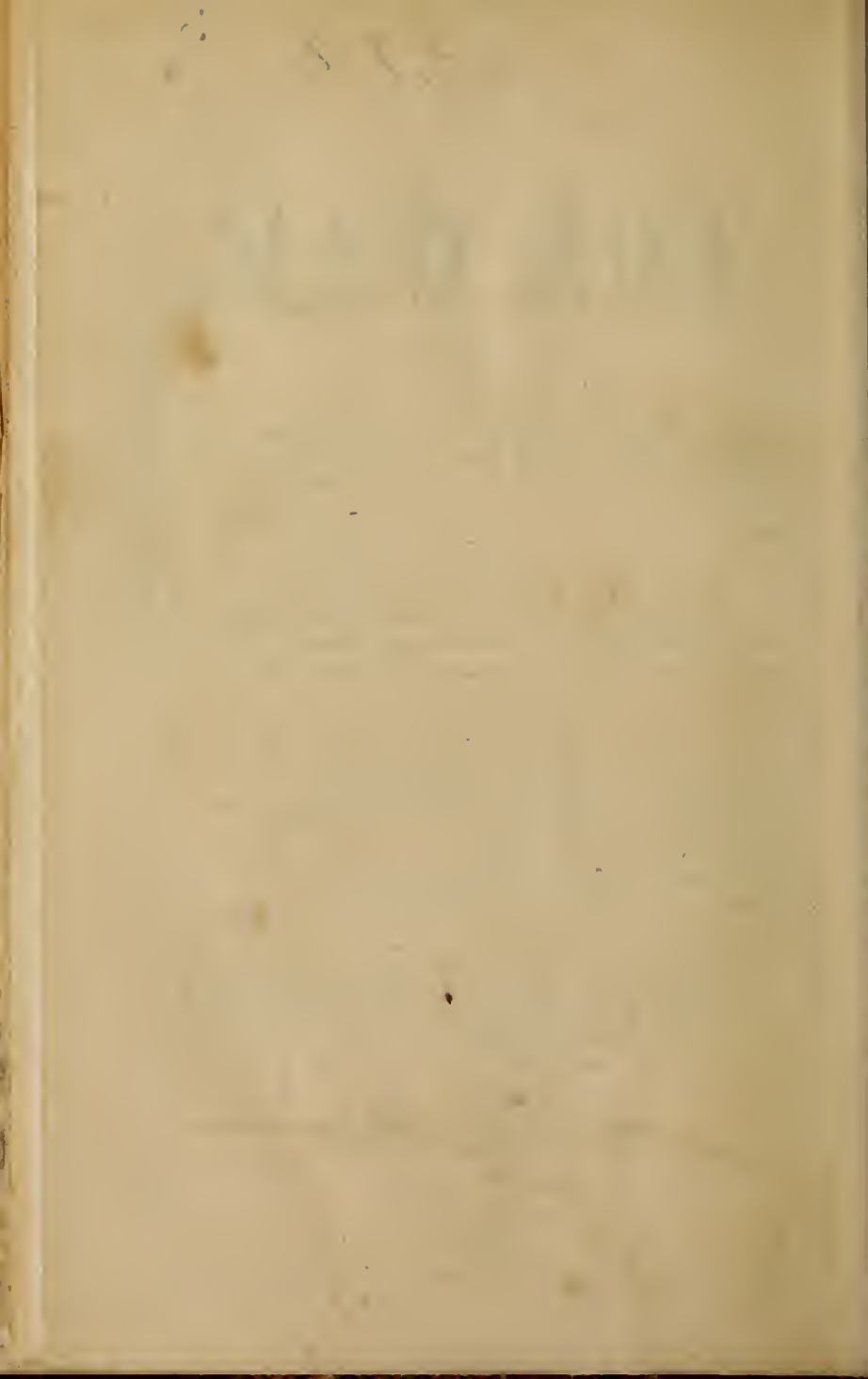
CONTENTS.

1. Results of Emancipation in the West Indies.
 2. Abolition of Slavery as a War measure.
 3. Necessity of Congressional action on the subject.
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 5. Final emancipation inevitable.
 6. Present aspect of our foreign relations.
 7. Political and commercial changes to follow the war.
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APPENDIX, containing facts and arguments concerning the cause of the Florida War; Massacres in St. Domingo; Abolitionism not the cause of the extension of slavery; An aristocracy of officeholders; Reasons for a restriction of the elective franchise.

THIRD EDITION---REVISED.

SAN FRANCISCO,
1861.



INTRODUCTION.

The anti-slavery principles laid down in the Chicago Platform, though not in all respects such as many earnest men desired to see put forth by a great party, were the best the people at that time could be induced to accept; and, as such, practical men, who preferred to secure something really good, rather than lose all by maintaining an unpopular though indisputably just theory, acquiesced in and gave them a cordial support. The people (at the East, if not in this State,) are now prepared to take another step in advance; but the Administration seem to act as if bound by the party platform, although that platform was made for a time of peace, and the war has put an entirely different face upon public affairs. The people, however, are not bound by any effete party theory, and the people, when convinced of the desirability of a new course of action, always compel the Government to change its policy. To assist in convincing them that a change is not merely desirable, but that the sooner it is effected the better, the following pages were written. Public opinion (not always an enlightened public opinion by any means,) rules, in this country, and often directs the course of Government before it finds expression through the ballot-box. Public opinion is ripening in favor of the abolition of slavery, but information is required to remove many prejudices. The writer believes Emancipation must be proclaimed—either soon, as a laudable object to be obtained by the war, or later, as an unavoidable necessity resulting from it; and as delay must be productive of great evil, he believes immediate and complete Emancipation is our best policy, and hopes this pamphlet may be the means of directing the public mind to the investigation of a subject which must ultimately *force* itself upon us, and perhaps in a manner less agreeable than now, when we have time to give it a cordial welcome and a careful study.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of this pamphlet was published anonymously, because the writer desired to have it judged according to its merits, entirely disconnected with personal considerations. Having, in the Appendix, made some statements which would not appear well if from an unknown source, and being willing to assume the responsibility which attaches to the utterance not only of those statements, but of every sentiment advocated in the pamphlet in its original form, the author publishes this edition with his name endorsed.

The term "anti-constitution abolitionists," used on the 22d page, refers solely to the Garrisonian abolitionists. It would be unjust to Gerrit Smith, and others who think like him, to class them among those who are opposed to the Constitution. They are really its most ardent supporters, believing, as they do, that the Constitution does not in any manner sanction slavery, and that in spirit it is diametrically opposed to the institution.

This pamphlet will be sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of Twenty-five cents in stamps. Address,

Lock Box 605.

San Francisco.

Friends of emancipation desirous of circulating this pamphlet will be supplied at cost price, \$15 per hundred.

THE WAR,

AND

HOW TO END IT.

Fellow Citizens :

Believing that the people of the United States will soon be required to determine upon some mode of abolishing slavery, I have collected from many sources the most reliable information obtainable concerning the results of emancipation in other countries; and though you may not sustain my deductions therefrom, yet for the *facts* presented I ask your careful consideration.

John C. Calhoun, in a report to the United States Senate, made by him as chairman of a special committee of the Twenty-fourth Congress, used the following language :

“Emancipation would ruin families and individuals, impoverish and prostrate an entire section of the Union, and give a fatal blow to the production of the great agricultural staples on which the commerce, navigation, manufactures, and revenue of the country entirely depend. To destroy slavery would be to place the two races in a state of conflict which must end in the expulsion or extirpation of one or the other.”

This opinion was not Calhoun's merely, but may be said to have been the popular opinion concerning the effects of emancipation. The planters of the West Indies, notwithstanding the financial ruin that had been brought upon them by slavery, were strongly opposed to the act of emancipation passed in 1834. “They predicted that the most disastrous results would follow. The slaves, they said, were too lazy to work without the whip, and the few

who might be willing to work would be robbed by the others. This would lead to continual fighting and prodigious slaughter. Thousands would die for want of the fostering care of their masters ; in short, blacks and whites would be swallowed up in one great gulf of swift destruction. To the very last they remonstrated, threatened, and entreated the home government not to consign them to such an inevitable fate." Their remonstrances were in vain, the act was passed, and Mr. Thome, in his work on the West Indies, says: "The great mass of negroes spent emancipation day in the churches ; and in every quarter the day was like a Sabbath." Planters and missionaries in every part of the islands reported that there were no drunken carousals, no riotous assemblies, no excesses of any kind. Rev. James A. Thome was the son of a Kentucky slaveholder. He visited the West Indies in 1836, and published an account of his investigations soon after his return, in 1837. A great number of planters made statements to him, most of whom reported that a larger number of workmen than they ever before had in their fields turned out the week after emancipation. The estates were in far better order than ever before. Dr. Daniell, Member of the Council, owner of an estate in Antigua, and manager of others, a very old resident, and formerly much opposed to emancipation, told Mr. Thome there had been no deficiency of labor ; the negroes accomplished twice as much as before, and were more tractable. He said that love of home was such a passion with negroes that nothing but bad treatment could force them away from an estate. Dr. Nugent, manager of a large estate, and Speaker of the Assembly, reported that emancipation had proved the greatest of blessings. The estates were better cultivated, and at less cost. The sick house used to be thronged with pretended invalids, but after emancipation, when the negroes were paid for their labor, they seldom went to the hospital, and the one on his estate had been turned into a stable. Mr. Thome reports the names and experience of scores of planters confirming these statements. The testimony of the magistrates and teachers was equally favorable. The Governor of Antigua said

the planters of that island assured him that the negroes were industriously disposed, the schools were prosperous, and the churches well attended. The police reports prove that capital offenses much decreased in number; that the principal crimes were breaches of contract, owing as much to the injustice of the planter as to the dishonesty of the negro. The Governor of Tabago, in 1857, said that a more industrious class does not exist in the world than the freed slaves of that island. Rev. Mr. Bleby, for thirty years a missionary in the West Indies, asserts that in Barbadoes, where he resided after emancipation, the criminal statistics compare favorably with any country under heaven. Lord John Russell says: "None of the most inveterate opponents of emancipation now allege that the free negroes have turned robbers, plunderers, or blood-thirsty insurgents."

The good results of British West India emancipation were much more apparent in those islands where the slaves were freed unconditionally, as in Antigua, and the Bahamas, and less favorable in the others, where the slaves were held several years as apprentices to prepare them for freedom. Jamaica shows a darker picture than any other, but even there the condition of the negro has been much improved since *complete* emancipation. Rev. Mr. Bleby says:

"Being determined to perpetuate slavery, the planters resolved to do all they could to keep their people in heathen darkness. The whole white population of Jamaica banded themselves together in an association which they called the Colonial Union, the avowed object of which was to drive every instructor of the negro from the island. Eighteen churches were levelled to the ground. They dragged the missionaries to prison, treated them with brutal violence, and did everything they could to put an end to their labors."

Mrs. L. Maria Child, to whose work, "*The Right Way the Safe Way*," I am indebted for much information, says:

"It is obvious that men so completely under the dominion of passion and prejudice were not likely to use power judiciously; and, unfortunately, the apprentice system, which was intended as a preparation for freedom, proved a source of exasperation to both parties." [The planters cared for nothing so much as to get all the labor possible from the apprentices before their complete emancipation.] "The fact that the power of punishment was transferred from master to magistrate, proved very insufficient protection; for the magistrates

were themselves planters, or friends of planters, and a large proportion of them were the mere tools of despotism."

The magistrates took little notice of the complaints of blacks, but condemned, without a hearing, on complaint of the whites. The records of their courts, imperfect as they are, show that, in the short space of two years, sixty thousand of the apprentices of Jamaica received in the aggregate, by order of the magistrates, one quarter of a million lashes, besides over fifty thousand other punishments by the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, and similar modes of legalized torture. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says the planters were more overbearing and tyrannical during the apprentice system than under slavery. "They seemed determined to make the apprentice act a failure, and displayed their bitterness against it by turning the negroes out of their houses, destroying their provision ground, and subjecting them to every kind of annoyance." Rev. James Phillipo, who was a missionary in Jamaica for twenty years, says: "Instead of a diminution of the miseries of the negro population under the apprentice law, there was a frightful addition to them, inducing a degree of discontent and exasperation never manifested even under the previous system." In 1838, "convinced that slavery, by its very nature, does not admit of any modification," Parliament proclaimed complete emancipation; after which "the conduct of the emancipated negro would have done credit to Christians of the most civilized country in the world. . . All seemed to have a sense of the obligations they owed to each other and to the civil authorities. The laborers, with few exceptions, went to work on the following day, and many of them gave their first week of free labor as an offering of good will to their former masters." How many white Christians, think you, would have done the same? Not a single instance of violence or insubordination, of serious disagreement or intemperance, occurred in any part of the island. Labor was cheap; it might have continued plentiful; and, notwithstanding the women and children were withdrawn from the field, a larger, instead of a smaller crop of sugar might have been sent to market, in consequence of the greater activity of

free laborers, it being fully demonstrated that one freed negro would do more work for fair wages than two slaves. But "the planters, not the slaves, proved themselves unfit for the great change inaugurated by the act of emancipation." Not having sufficient capital, they cheated the laborers, and in other ways continued to oppress them, until they were compelled to sacrifice their feelings of attachment to their domicils, and establish themselves in free-holds of their own. But even this proves their industry and economy, for in twenty years after emancipation one hundred thousand of the colored men of Jamaica had become freeholders, notwithstanding the price of labor was only twenty-four cents per day. Rev. W. G. Barrett, a missionary, stated, at a meeting in London last year:

"After a lengthened residence in Jamaica, after having visited every one of the West India islands, the Mauritius, French and British, after having resided some time in British Guiana, and gathered the feeling resulting from those different colonies, I have no hesitation in saying that when the emancipated negroes welcomed that first of August, they were prepared to bury in oblivion all the injuries of the past. Had the conduct of the planters of the West Indies been as wise as the conduct of the negro was forgiving, had their acts been as just as the demeanor of the emancipated slaves was good, there would have been none of those complaints we have heard of, none of that abandonment of estates, and those heart-burnings of which we are repeatedly reading both in the columns of the colonial and the British press."

Wm. G. Sewell, in his work on the West Indies, says: "Disaster and misfortune have followed, not emancipation, but the failure to observe those great principles of liberty and justice upon which the foundations of emancipation were laid." Lord Brougham, in one of his speeches, said he had positive proof, from undoubted authority, that wherever the freed negroes were well treated, the supply of sugar produced by their labor had not diminished since the act of emancipation.

The English Baptist Missionary Society, in 1859, sent commissioners to the West Indies to make a minute examination into the condition of the islands. This deputation, after a research of more than a year, have recently made their report, in which they assert that emancipation, has not only produced the most gratifying moral results but has enormously enhanced the material prosperity of

all of the islands, including Jamaica, concerning which so much has been said to the contrary. As to the religious condition of the people of Jamaica, they reported that they had built, since emancipation, two hundred and twenty chapels, independent of the Established Church, of which there was no record showing the number. The people regularly attending these chapels amounted to 91,000, one fourth of the entire population, and the Sabbath Schools contained 22,000 children, being one-third of all the children old enough to attend school. The money contributed by the negroes to sustain these churches amounted to more than \$100,000 per annum. The educational statistics of the island were very incomplete, but from a census taken by the missionaries of one district in Jamaica, at the time of emancipation, and another taken twenty-five years after, it was found that whereas, at the first census only three negroes in five thousand were able to read and write, at the last census one thousand seven hundred were able to do so. The people are now well governed and well behaved; persons and property are perfectly safe, and serious crimes very rare. These facts, the commissioners state, contrast most forcibly with the awful condition of society in Jamaica before emancipation.

In 1851, Mr. Bigelow, now United States Consul to Paris, published a work on the West Indies, in which he gives a sad picture of the degradation of the people of Jamaica; and other travelers, especially those who merely visited Kingston, and took that dirty city as a specimen of the whole island, have made similar reports. Mr. Charles Tappan, who visited Jamaica in 1858, says:

"On landing at Kingston, I was inclined to believe the story that the emancipated slave is more idle and vicious than any other of God's intelligent creatures; but when I rode through the valleys, and over the mountains, and found everywhere an industrious, sober people, I concluded that all the vagabonds of the island had moved to the seashore to pick up a precarious living by carrying baggage, begging, etc., and such, upon inquiry, I found to be the fact. Wherever I went in the rural districts, I found contented men and women cultivating sugar cane, vegetables, and fruits on their own account. Their neat, well furnished cottages compared well with the dwellings of pioneers in our own country. I found in them mahogany furniture, crockery and glass-ware, and shelves of useful books."

At a meeting held in London, presided over by Lord Brougham, and composed of many eminent men of England, America, and the West Indies, Sir Francis Hincks, Governor of the Barbadoes, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That, on the 25th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, this meeting joyously records its satisfaction in the retrospect of that great act of national justice and sound policy, and emphatically affirms that the emancipated population of those colonies have triumphantly vindicated the justice of the act of emancipation by the signal progress they have since made, morally, religiously, and politically."

At this meeting, George Thompson, M. P., made a speech in which he said:

"Twenty-five years have passed away since the slaves were emancipated, and what are they now? They are industrious cultivators and independent freeholders of the soil; they are the liberal promoters of education; they are devout members of Christian churches; they not only sustain, out of their own resources, the religious institutions of their own locality, but they even send to societies in England their liberal contributions. There is no department of agricultural, commercial, mechanical, or political life into which they have not entered, and in which they have not creditably distinguished themselves."

Considering the degraded condition of the negroes of the British colonies before emancipation, this statement of their progress is remarkable. More than two million slaves had been taken to the West Indies, but only eight hundred thousand remained alive at the time of emancipation, many of whom were born in a state of barbarism in the wilds of Africa. In America, on the contrary, all the importations of which we have any record are only about three hundred thousand, while we *now* have four million slaves. At the present day, a native African on a Southern plantation is as great a rarity as a white blackbird. They are not so numerous by far as those slaves *called* octoroons, but in whose veins scarce a drop of African blood can be traced. The moral and intellectual character of American slaves, therefore, is infinitely above that of the slaves of the West Indies in 1834. In the West Indies, at the time of emancipation, there were more than five times as many blacks as whites; in the Slave States of America there are twice as many whites as blacks, making the proportion of colored

men to whites in the Indies ten times greater than in the Southern States, and the danger of emancipation ten times as much, supposing there to be *any* danger; though that is hardly supposable, as I have just proved there is none.

At successive periods, between 1816 and 1828, the South American republics, Buenos Ayres, Chili, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and Guatemala, emancipated all their slaves. In 1828 thirty thousand Hottentot helots were emancipated in Cape Colony. In 1857 the Dutch abolished slavery in their West India colonies, and in 1859, in all their possessions in the East Indies, while at this moment the abolition of serfdom is taking place in Russia; yet in no one instance, (except in Russia, where there has been a trifling trouble in consequence of adopting a system of partial or gradual abolition,) have these changes been productive of any injury to life or property. So much for the *moral* aspect of emancipation. Now let us look at the matter as a financial question.

The financial troubles of the British West Indies commenced more than one hundred years before emancipation, and the planters' petitions to Parliament for relief began more than fifty years previous to that event. Instead of emancipation being the cause of these troubles, *they* were the cause of emancipation. As Jamaica is the island almost always referred to by pro-slavery men, let us examine the condition of Jamaica previous to and after emancipation. In 1792 the Jamaica Assembly reported to Parliament, that in the course of the preceding twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica had been sold for the payment of debts; 55 had been abandoned; 92 were in the hands of creditors; and the 80,121 executions, lodged in the Marshal's office, amounted to \$109,012,500. That does not look much like the prosperity in Jamaica, pro-slavery men, without giving figures, assert to have been the condition of the colony previous to emancipation. But it grew even worse than this before slavery was abolished. From other reports made by the Jamaica Assembly to Parliament subsequent to 1792. I extract sentences as follows:

1804.—“British merchants holding securities on real estate in Jamaica, hesitate to enforce decrees of foreclosure, because if they do they must become proprietors of the plantations, of which, from fatal experience, they know the consequences. All credit in Jamaica is at an end; confidence has ceased, and a faithful detail of our distresses would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.”

1805.—“The condition of the planter is one of increasing embarrassment and impending ruin.”

1807.—“The estates now in chancery [not including those previously sold] amount to one-fourth of the whole number in the colony.”

1812.—“The ruin of the original possessors of property has been completed; estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident.”

1826.—“The present proprietors are fast going into bankruptcy [as did their predecessors]. Commerce is deserting the shores of Jamaica. Ruin, in the most dreadful shape, is advancing with rapid strides.”

In 1830, four years before emancipation, Lord Chandos presented to Parliament a petition from the Jamaica planters for relief, stating that their distress was unparalleled—many families reduced to absolute penury—and that without speedy and efficient relief, the ruin of a great number of the planters must inevitably take place. Parliament granted them relief, not as they wanted it, but in the shape of emancipation. The island was utterly insolvent at the time the emancipation bill passed. The sugar exports of Jamaica from 1801 to 1807 averaged 133,000 hogsheads annually. From 1807 to 1814 the average annual exports were 118,000 hhds.; from 1814 to 1821, only 96,000 hhds.; and from 1828 to 1835, the exports were but 90,000 hhds., showing plainly that sugar exports commenced falling off long before emancipation. The same causes have produced a still greater decrease in the exports from Jamaica since emancipation, but in most of the islands there has been a large increase, so much that although the sugar exports of Jamaica now average but 30,000 hhds. per annum, the total sugar exports of the West Indies nearly equal the amount exported before emancipation. But let us see what became of Jamaica in other respects after emancipation. Joseph J. Gurney, who visited Jamaica in 1840, says:

“The imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; towns thriving; new villages rising up in every direction; pro-

perty much enhanced in value; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, are contented, industrious and gradually accumulating property. Real estate is as valuable *without* the slaves as formerly with them. Land that sold for \$15 per acre before emancipation, readily brings \$60 per acre, and a great deal of the land leased for more money in one year than it would have sold for under slavery."

This highly favorable state of affairs continued till the year 1846, when the British Parliament repealed the tariff on sugar. For many years the West India planters had a monopoly of the sugar market in Great Britain, so complete that not even the British East Indies were allowed to compete with them. Eight years after emancipation this tariff was repealed, and sugar suddenly fell from \$11.86 per cwt. to \$5.65. Business in the West Indies had been carried on by credit for more than one hundred years, but now credit was at an end; mortgages were foreclosed; estates were sold, and thousands of families reduced to poverty. Their cries of distress resounded through the world, and pro-slavery men in America exultingly proclaimed, "Behold the effects of emancipation." Real estate in Jamaica fell 50 per cent, and in 1850, Mr. Bigelow said: "It is difficult to exaggerate, and still more difficult to define, the poverty and industrial prostration of Jamaica." Notwithstanding this great depression, the effect of the shock soon passed away, and in 1858 the reports to Parliament from all the West India islands, showed that in the four years preceeding there had been an increase in the West India trade over the preceeding four years amounting to \$21,802,000. The total trade of 1857 was over fifty-two million dollars.

I have not been able to obtain any official reports of the West India trade later than 1857, but it is true that the exports of the islands, though nearly as great as they were immediately preceding emancipation, are not yet, even with this great increase, half as large as they were in what are called "the prosperous days of the colonies," in other words, when men were captured, enslaved, and sacrificed by the thousands in order that sugar might be exported and sold to fill the pockets of English speculators. But a decrease in trade, however great, does not prove emancipation a failure to any one who believes a human soul

worthy of higher regard than a hogshead of sugar, and the comfort and happiness of men of more consequence than the profits on the export of a barrel of rum or bag of coffee. When a cultivated people consider reasons like these sufficient to decide the greatest of moral questions, it is time for barbarians to teach us a better lesson. The gross materialism such exclusively pecuniary considerations imply is enough to overwhelm with shame any christian nation. Let us not advance *such* an argument in this age of civilization.

But, setting aside all sentiments of humanity, justice, morality and religion, it is safe to assert that not even the *material* progress of a country can be determined by the exports alone. The best indication of the prosperity of California is not her large exports of gold, but the general advancement of the people in agriculture, manufactures and the mechanic arts. So also with the Indies; their pecuniary condition is to be judged more by the progress of the laborers in the accumulation of property, their increased means of enjoying the comforts of life, and the amount of produce consumed at home, rather than that which is sent abroad. Ernest Noel, writing from Jamaica to the *N. Y. Times*, last year, says ten pounds of coffee are now consumed in that island where one pound was used previous to emancipation. Every laborer now has his cup of coffee. So it is with sugar. Noel gives it as his opinion that the amount *grown* has not so much decreased as the exports indicate, but that it is used by the natives themselves. Instead of being sent off to enrich foreign capitalists, it is retained at home to add to the comforts of the producer. The commissioners sent to the Indies by the Baptist Missionary Society state that, while the annual export of sugar from all the islands for several years before emancipation averaged 3,600,000 cwt., the sugar exports of 1858 amounted to 3,500,000 cwt., being a diminution of only 2,000 hogsheads. The annual earnings of the 70,000 negro families of Jamaica are estimated by the commissioners at about eleven million dollars, and the amount saved by them since emancipation, estimating at a low rate the value of their real and personal property, is not

less than twelve million dollars. This shows that some of them, at least, do not spend all they earn, and that the whole of them, as a people, are far from being the idle, vicious, thieving vagabonds they are so often represented.

In view of these facts, gathered from such a variety of sources, and substantiated by witnesses of such unimpeachable character, is it not evident that the slave power, besides being the curse of America, is the most audacious liar in christendom? The upholders of slavery, by their persistency in lying, have made nine-tenths of the American people believe that the abolition of slavery would bring inevitable ruin upon the country. For more than twenty years they have lied about the results of emancipation in the West Indies; and having succeeded in deceiving many honest people, they coolly point to the general belief in their lies as proof of their integrity, and as evidence of the necessity as well as justice of their iniquitous system. Their audacity is unparalleled.

I will close this portion of the subject with an extract from the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1859, which, after furnishing statistics on the progress of the West Indies for the ten years previous, appended to its array of figures the following statement:

"A long and thorough investigation has borne us to the conclusion that, merely as a dry question of policy, emancipation has *paid*. Slavery and monopoly were bearing the West Indies to ruin; under free labor and free trade they are rising to wealth, and are yearly enriching us more and more with the overflowing wealth of their fertile soil. Instead of being the plague of statesmen and the disgrace of England, they are becoming invaluable possessions of the British crown."

During my examination of this subject, I have found evidences in favor of emancipation sufficient to fill a volume of five hundred pages—sufficient, at least, to convince all rational men that immediate and unconditional emancipation, viewed as a question of morals and finance, would be the greatest blessing this government could confer upon the Southern people, both master and slave. I have spent more time in collecting these statistics than my inclination prompted, in order to meet the objections of that large class of men who consider the question of the continuance of

slavery as purely one of profit and loss, on which considerations of humanity or justice have no practical bearing. Except in recognition of this prevailing opinion, I would not have taken the trouble to prove slavery a financial blunder to be remedied, while my sense of justice tells me it is a most monstrous crime to be extirpated. There are far higher considerations in favor of emancipation than those which concern our material prosperity. By making this war a war for the freedom of the slave, we make it a war for human rights. The rights which pertain to men because they *are* men—the rights of humanity—are far higher and more sacred than those which are derived from any form of civil government. Human rights are inherent and immutable, while the rights of a subject or citizen are conferred by statute, and liable to constant modification. One is as much higher than the other as God is higher than man. It is said to be glorious to give up your life for your country. I think it more glorious to do so for the sake of humanity; and it has been given to this people and this generation to contend for the establishment of principles which lie at the basis of human rights and progress. As a mere struggle for the ascendancy, between parties one of which is only *more* wrong than the other, (though a great deal more, it is true,) I, for one, feel very much disposed to stand aside, and allow those who love fighting to fight it out. The struggles of the battle-field, which some natures look upon as the grandest and most sublime exhibition of human passions, seem to me, apart from any noble object that may be attained thereby, as illustrative only of gross brutality and barbaric folly. The sight of human gore, and the sound of human woe, the hissing shot and bursting shell, the groans of the wounded and the gasps of the dying, make a scene the boasted sublimity of which, merely *as* a sublime sight, I have no desire to witness. But elevate the standard of the war; make the contest one for the rights of man, for the destruction of tyranny, for the establishment of the principles of justice; inscribe on our banners “Emancipation for the Slave” and “Equal Rights for All,” so that, overlooking the brutality and the suffering, we may see, not far beyond, the realization of our

hopes for the cause of humanity, and feel that through all this trial and these sufferings a glorious future awaits us, which shall be a rich atonement for all, and I am ready to stake my life in the contest. What matters individual ill or welfare in a war such as this *should* be? If America, cursed with slavery, has been the hope of the world, what may not America free become? If we can save our republican form of government, and destroy slavery, this war, indeed, will not have been in vain; but if our President and his advisers desire to have the evil that caused the war still continue to exist, then surely they are endeavoring to retain that which has cursed every country on which it ever rested; and if we, the people, do nothing to aid this and other reforms which should take place in our system of government in order better to adapt it to our present condition, then we are wilfully closing our eyes to evils which the war gives us a grand opportunity to put an end to.

Three objects are before the American people at this time for attainment—the preservation of the Union, an honorable peace, and the abolition of slavery; the first and second of which may be easily and quickly secured by proclaiming the third, and enforcing it as fast as our armies move southward. The abolition of slavery must soon be followed by the disbanding of the rebel army. Every Southern soldier would desire to protect his own family against the possible vengeance of the slaves. Peace would soon follow, and slavery being destroyed, the peace would be permanent between the two sections, though quiet at the South cannot be restored for years. The estates of rebels should be divided and apportioned among the Northern soldiers, upon condition of immediate settlement. This course would infuse a new element into Southern society, which in less than ten years would revolutionize the character of the Southern people. It is an absolute fact, (all lies to the contrary notwithstanding,) that the white man can perform more and harder labor at the South than the negro. It has been proved over and over again in the ditching and railroad building of the Southern States. Labor too arduous for the negro is performed by the white man with ease. The “poor white trash” of the South,

being acclimated, are better able to labor even than the whites of the North, and on finding that other white men, more intelligent than themselves, are not ashamed to work for a living, they too would earn enough to live decently; and the next generation, educated in the schools introduced by the Northern men, would be a superior race. In the meantime, laws would require to be passed for the regulation of labor, and to prevent the oppression of the negro by white tyrants.

There is no doubt that an openly avowed abolition policy would create dissatisfaction in the Slave States still loyal to the Government, but it must not be forgotten that there are eight million white people in the South, and only three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, and it is possible that if a fair vote could be taken a majority would be found in favor of abolition. If not, it is solely owing to their ignorance, and in the more enlightened future they will thank us for forcing upon them the blessings of free society. It is much better to have a little more trouble quickly to end, than a little less to last for years. But the troubles will not end immediately. Anthony Trollope says, in reference to the abolition of slavery, "the discontinuance of an evil is always the commencement of a struggle." We must expect a struggle for years between the various elements that will compose Southern society after the close of this war. I do not look for a conflict of races when liberty is proclaimed, but simply for the minor difficulties that must inevitably result from a disorganized state of society. Time, however, will bring peace, and happiness will again settle upon our now distracted country. What murders, what outrages, what bloody butcheries may intervene, it is needless to imagine. Let us fix our eyes upon the happy future. Yet, in view of the fact that slavery is the sole cause of insurrections, and that freedom would remove this cause, and in view of the mild character of our American slaves, it is highly improbable that any massacre of whites by blacks would follow emancipation. But if any excess of the kind *should occur*, it certainly would be far preferable to a long and bloody civil war, which must, if emancipation be not adopted, result in the destruction of our government,

and an enormous loss of valuable lives. Better exterminate every master by the hand of the slave, than sacrifice the lives of men who are true to their country and humanity. I know not why we should be so careful of the safety of slaveholding traitors, and so lavish of the blood of our loyal soldiers. The doom of slavery is written in the Book of Fate. It is only a question of time; but *how long a time*, and at what an expense of blood and treasure, depends upon the method of conducting this war. The campaign of Patterson in Western Virginia is said to have cost the government ten million dollars, and the total results were the capture of twenty fugitive slaves, every one of whom were returned to their masters. Millions of dollars expended to maintain an army of negro catchers, for the benefit of slaveholding rebels! That is *one* way to conduct a war; but it is not my way, and I have reason to believe that a great many men of my way of thinking are deterred from offering their assistance to the Government, because they do not feel that the present policy of the Administration is what it should be. It has been reported that many officers in the Federal army would resign if the Government should proclaim emancipation. None of this class did resign when Fremont issued his proclamation, but if any actually threatened to do so, their services should be dispensed with *now*, and men put in their places who will *not* resign when time and events compel the Government to adopt this policy. It is well to prepare for the inevitable future. There is another and much larger class of soldiers who earnestly desire the abolition of slavery, and knowing the war will end in that, they are satisfied to obtain a good result under false pretences. I am not; and in this case I am more strongly opposed to such a sneaking course for the reason that it will cause a greatly increased loss of life, to say nothing of the loss of national self-respect and the respect of the world. This war should speedily end. Already it comes home to the bosoms of each one of us whose relatives or friends have bled or died on fields made memorable by incompetency and mismanagement. Continue as we have commenced, and we will have a guerilla warfare for an indefinite number of years. We may obtain pos-

session of every Southern seaport, and station soldiers in every inland Southern city, (when we have captured them, which will not be in a hurry,) yet the rebels will retain the mountain defences, and keep the country in a state of insurrection for years; and after they are crushed, if ever, then slavery again will cause a turmoil from that time on to eternity, unless we take a new tack. I believe in striking home—in the very citadel of the enemy's strength. What folly to suffer a servile race to cultivate fields to furnish food to those who are fighting against us! What inanity to allow four millions of people to assist our enemies, when two millions of them would gladly assist us! It probably would not be necessary to admit emancipated slaves to the military service of the Government. The good feeling that in many cases exists between master and slave should not be disturbed more than necessity requires. The desirability of a harmonious relation between all parties after the war is over forbids this. I know the negro's intense love of home, and his deep gratitude to those who treat him kindly. The house servants at the South are, in many instances, bound to their master's family by the ties of friendship, and not a few of them by the ties of consanguinity. But there are on the plantations many thousands who have no white associates but the overseer, and no friends but themselves. These would gladly aid a Government that would show a disposition to aid them. They are ignorant, but could soon be made to understand their new position, and, if unyielding necessity at last required it, many an efficient regiment could be formed of this "raw material." It is barely possible that after a few Federal victories, the deluded people of the South will return to their allegiance; but in such an event their curse will return with them. In any aspect of the case, therefore, is it best to wait for a temporary success, by our armies alone, while it is evident that by freeing the slave and arming the negro, the war would end almost immediately; and by merely freeing the slaves, without accepting their armed service, we could secure permanent peace in six months? The latter mode would be far preferable. By refusing to adopt it, the country will be distracted by war for years,

and emancipation will be found the only remedy at last, because by defeating the rebels, without emancipation, we shall have conquered and brought back the old evil to harass us and cause fresh troubles. Emancipation will be just as necessary then as now. I am not strenuous as to the *particular* mode by which slavery shall be abolished, but I am fearful of delays. The military is stronger than the civil power; it performs its work more quickly and more effectually; it hesitates not at slight difficulties; it does not wrangle over petty details; a few leading minds control all its operations, and its results are produced quietly. But take the matter into Congress after the rebels have laid down their arms; let the demagogues, the Presidential aspirants, and the corrupt politicians of that body expend their volumes of gas on the subject, and the country will again be agitated from center to circumference; jealousies will be excited, sectional interests raised, and the final dissolution of the Union rendered unavoidable. If it is going to Congress at all, it better go there *now*, when there is a chance of unanimity.

Strictly considered, the Constitution does not sanction slavery; it does not *expressly* recognize its existence. But take Constitutional pro-slaveryists and anti-Constitution abolitionists upon their common ground, which is, that slavery, sustained by State laws, and sanctioned by the Federal Constitution, cannot, by the General Government, be legally abolished until the Constitution is amended. Then, I assert, if it may not be interfered with by the civil power, it *can* be by the military, and that power should be exercised. The upholders of slavery, in the States where it exists, have rejected the Constitution, and voluntarily withdrawn from its protection; they have defied the Government, and raised an armed force to fight against it; they have adopted another constitution, and claim no rights under the old one. Shall we give them what they do not ask? Shall we thrust upon them a protection which they spurn? Since this contest commenced the President has deliberately ignored a law of Congress, in order that armies might be speedily raised for the protection of the Government. Acknowledging the justice of his action in this

respect, I claim that he has equal reason, in his capacity as Commander in Chief of the army, to disregard those provisions of the Constitution which protect and encourage its enemies. (I refer to Art. X of the Amendments, concerning the reserved rights of the States, which is so construed as to authorize the holding of slaves under State laws.) This is no time for a blind adherence to those Constitutional provisions which, by unjust constructions, are made to favor men who defy the Constitution in nearly half the States of the Union.

I do not believe that any government can permanently endure that is not based upon, or at least progressing towards, the eternal principles of truth and justice; and I do not believe *this* Government, which is now afloat on a sea of troubles, will ever again be firmly established until our rulers, guided by the land-marks of righteousness, lay anchor on the rock of immutable truth. Yet, not now should we talk of constitutional amendments. This is a time for *action*. Under existing circumstances gradual emancipation is impracticable. We have had a dalliance with evil long enough. Slavery is an ensnaring harlot, which cannot be touched without contamination. It brutalizes everything with which it comes in contact, blinds its votaries with ignorance and besots them with a worse than drunken foolishness. It is the sin and shame of our country; the one evil that overtops all others—that sinks to the foundation of iniquity and reaches to the very apex of villainy.

We just begin to understand the new relations in which we are placed by this rebellion; and although the Constitution defines treason, we just begin to understand what *that* means; and I have come to the conclusion that the system of slavery itself has been "organized treason" against this Government ever since its formation. Its spirit is contrary to the spirit of democracy, and all laws by which it is fostered are, and necessarily *must* be, in direct opposition to a republican form of government. Yet the people of California have been told by their most popular preacher that "Slavery is not the cause of this war, and has nothing to do with it." The man who tells

you this manages to keep on the top wave of public opinion as much by his tact as his eloquence. He has the charity

to suppose that when he encourages an unjust popular prejudice, he is actuated by the belief that whoever goes far in advance of the people places himself in a position where he is incapable of doing them much good; so, through pure love of his fellow-men, whose welfare he keeps constantly in view, our popular preacher desires to avoid a radicalism that would weaken his influence. This is very *considerate*, surely; nevertheless, I believe in the *truth*, when I can find it, no matter how many people believe the contrary. And as to the truth of this statement, let us examine:

The rule of slavery is the rule of brute force. It is founded upon the ignorance and degradation of the enslaved—"upon the annihilation of the most sacred rights of man." It has no sympathy whatever with free institutions, and has never ceased its warfare on the best interests of this people. It has been the bane of the nation from its foundation. I need not detail the workings of the institution, but will, in brief language, remind you of some of them: Slavery intrenched itself in the Colonies before the United States Government was formed; it obtained recognition in the document which we still acknowledge as our Constitution; it acquired territory from foreign Powers for its future growth; it repudiated the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting its extension, and broke the compact of 1820 defining its limits. It was the principal cause of the Florida war; it produced also an unjust war with a neighboring republic in 1846, and endeavored to inaugurate its villainous system of labor in California in 1849. It "wasted the fair fields of Kansas," and stained its soil with the blood of hundreds of its liberty-loving people. It took possession of New Mexico and Arizona, and endeavored to extend its rule over Utah and Nevada. It has bribed Presidents and Cabinets, controlled Congresses, corrupted Courts, and declared all the territory of the United States slave territory. It has robbed the U. S. mails, and destroyed papers which the people desired for their instruction. It has mutilated school books and religious writings, in order to expurgate from them every sentiment favorable to a spirit of freedom. It has mobbed,

persecuted, and finally expelled from its borders, men who were not upholders of its iniquities. In the North it has triumphed by political intrigue, and in the South has been upheld by ruffian brutality. Its history is one continued story of outrages. Wherever it has had the power to do so, it has burned, maimed or killed all who dared utter anything in opposition to its barbarities; where it has not had this power, it has distributed political rewards for acts of party subserviency. Words of remonstrance at the North have produced the politician's defeat and the business man's ruin; while even a lack of sympathy at the South has been sufficient to insure physical torture or death. For fifty years, by its unity of interest, the Slave Power in this country has managed to control public opinion, to direct the Government, and to impede the progress of free institutions. After a long series of uninterrupted successes, it has, at last, received a check; it perceives that the acme of its power has been reached; and, in the phrenzy of despair, it strives to overturn the Government which has so long protected it. The census reports and the indisputable evidence within every man's observation, have demonstrated to the slaveholders the growing power of free labor, and the consequent early doom of slavery. They saw themselves surrounded by Free States, and intruded upon within their own territory by the advancing hosts of free labor. In some of the border Slave States the hard-working immigrants from Germany, the ever restless sons of the emerald isle and the invincible yankee purchased homes adjoining the plantations of slaveholders, and demonstrated to them that "men who are bred in the customs of free society, inured to labor, and economical of their resources, have both the ability and the will to take advantage of the planter's necessities, and purchase his lands at low prices." This process was continued until slavery was crowded out from whole sections of Virginia, Missouri and Texas. These things, it would seem, *ought* to have convinced the people of the South that the boasted economy of slave labor is a delusion. But it did not. Many of them believe it a necessity, and they are encouraged in this belief by their politicians, who continually

assert that the abolition of slavery would be the ruin of the South. Cotton cannot be produced by free labor, they say, and, in order to sustain slavery in the cotton States, it must be perpetuated in the border States and extended into the Territories. So it *has* been extended, against the entreaties, the protestations, and all the efforts of good men to stay its progress. Although, in the early days of the Republic, the Slave Power lost some of the States that were once under its dominion, it has since succeeded in devoting a greater number of new States to its service. This increase has been charged as the effect of abolition agitation at the North creating a feeling of opposition at the South. As well might you assert that fire engines are the cause of conflagrations, as to say that abolition agitation perpetuates slavery. George M. Weston says: "It is an insult to the intelligence of the Southern people to suppose them capable of being influenced by motives so puerile in connection with a subject of such vital interest." "The true cause of the increased power of slavery lies in the unsound opinions concerning the profitableness of slave labor, and in the immense pecuniary interests of the slaveholders. Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, in his letter to Thomas Clarkson, places this matter on the right ground. He says the political movements against slavery had no effect at the South, neither would a purely *persuasive* attempt to remove slavery, such as Clarkson proposed, succeed any better. The Southern people were not excited to further "aggressions" by the abuse of abolitionists; they were impelled to extend slavery by altogether different causes. Nature and the requirements of trade, pecuniary interests, and long established custom demand the perpetuation of slavery, Mr. Hammond says, and neither threats nor entreaties will ever prevail against it. Hear him :

* "Supposing we were all convinced, and thought of slavery precisely as you do; at what era of 'moral suasion' do you imagine you could prevail on us to give up two thousand millions of dollars in the value of our slaves, and a thousand millions more in the depreciation of our lands in consequence of the want of laborers to cultivate them? * * * You see the absurdity of such an idea. Away then with your pretended moral suasion. You know it is mere nonsense."

Although Senator Hammond falls into the common error concerning the effects of emancipation, yet I agree with him that slavery is not to be remedied by moral suasion, on the contrary, it is to be put down by the strong arm of military force—an evil to be crushed at once, and at whatever cost. We all know emancipation to be just; experience has proved it to be profitable; but this war makes it inevitable; so we have no choice, except the choice of time, and no duty except to make the time short. The longer the delay the more will be the cost in the end—cost, not in money alone, but in life, in national honor, and perhaps in the total destruction of our government. The most effectual mode of curing an evil is to remove its cause, and the cause of this war is too obvious to be mistaken. We can trace all our present national troubles directly to one point—that is *slavery*. The impoverishing effect of slavery, “its tendency to band together all connected with it, and isolate them from the people of other States,” its exclusive interests, the jealousy it fosters, the brutality and ignorance it causes, and the spirit of lawlessness which it naturally gives rise to, have kept the nation in a ferment for the last thirty years. This war is the natural and inevitable culmination of the troubles caused by slavery, and we shall never again have peace except by its extinction. Geo. M. Weston, in his history of the “Progress of Slavery,” says:

“Virginia and the Carolinas, with exhausted soils, stationary populations, and decaying towns, saw, with regret and alarm, that the free States, with inferior natural advantages, were rapidly surpassing them in numbers and wealth. With jaundiced eyes, they beheld the vigorous commerce, the thriving manufactures and the opulent cities of the North, and insisted that they alone were the producers of real wealth, and that the North was thriving at their expense. * * * Without the products of the South, where would Northern ships find freights? Without Southern customers, where could Northern manufactures find markets? Such questions, and the ideas that prompt such questions, are common in all the slave States.”

Senator Hammond, in a speech in the U. S. Senate, March 4th, 1858, addressing the Senators from the Northern States, said:

“Transient and temporary causes have thus far been your preservation. * * * The South has sustained you in a great measure. You are our factors. You bring and carry for us. One hundred

and fifty million dollars of our money passes annually through your hands. Much of it sticks; all of it assists to keep your machinery together and in motion. Suppose we were to discharge you; suppose we were to take our business out of your hands; *we should consign you to anarchy and poverty.*"

Is it any wonder that the Southern people remain grossly ignorant of the resources and character of the North, while one of their most intelligent leaders utters such absurdities as these? Mr. Forsyth, of Alabama, ten years ago, said to the people of the South in a public address:

"I have no more doubt that the effect of separation would be to transfer the energies of industry, population, commerce and wealth from the North to the South, than I have that it is to the union with us—the wealth-producing States—that the North owes its great progress in material prosperity. The Union broken, we should have what has so long been the dream of the South—direct trade and commercial independence."

The whole tribe of Southern disunionists, blinded by slavery, or wilfully closing their eyes to the *true* cause of their misfortunes, have held similar views for a quarter of a century, and, by their continued efforts, have "embittered the South against the North, have created a spirit of uneasiness, and destroyed the patriotic feelings of the Southern people." Therefore I assert that slavery is the sole cause of our national troubles, and emancipation the only remedy. In no other way can we have permanent peace. In no other way can we as a nation ever reach that high state of cultivation and prosperity at home, and that commanding influence and respect abroad which will be ours when freed from the curse that has already done so much to lower the national character, to brutalize a large class of our people, and to endanger the existence of the Government itself. Slavery has caused this rebellion against a government in most respects the best that ever existed, and it is now the duty of the Government to rebel against slavery—not by law, to be passed by authority of constitutional amendments, some months or some years hence, but immediately, by proclamation enforced by the sword. I despair of seeing the President assume the responsibility. He even shrinks from the contemplation of his first assumption of unlawful power, just as it was, and

has wholly repudiated the policy of Fremont, which might have been the entering wedge to split and finally destroy the iniquitous system that has come so near destroying us. But I look to Congress for a speedy remedy. Though it *should* be done by the military, it may first be authorized by the civil power—not, I trust, by any slow-moving attempt to amend the Constitution, but by means of a declaration made necessary by the extremity of our danger. Let us say to our representatives: We will have no further subservience to the behests of this tremendous evil—no more compromises, and no more delay.

“Hear it, ye who sit in council,
We, the people, tell you so!
Will you venture ‘Yes’ to whisper,
When the millions thunder ‘No?’
Will you sell the nation’s birthright—
Heritage of toil and pain—
While a cry of shame and vengeance
Rings from Oregon to Maine?”

You all remember the words of the eloquent Curran, used in the defense of Mr. Rowan, in allusion to that most noble decree of the British courts, which, in the case of Somerset, declared the freedom of every man whose feet trod British soil:

“No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.”

Shall we, who boast so much of freedom, let monarchical Britain longer thus put us to shame? Shall we continue in the future all the absurdities of the past, and invite the nations of the earth to witness our inconsistencies? Claiming our Constitution as the palladium of the liberties of the people, we have held millions of our fellow men in bondage; holding up to the gaze of mankind the Declaration of Independence as the most sublime expression of man’s equality, we have, in practice, acted as if

it really were what one of our Northern doughfaces pronounced it, "a tissue of glittering generalities." How long are these things to continue? I trust not long. Already, by this rebellion, has this noble decree of Great Britain been practically extended from the borders of the northern lakes to the verge of old Virginia; and, already has Fremont indicated a mode by which the human chattels of rebels, even on the very plantations of the disloyal South, might be confiscated to the Government, and by the Government consecrated to freedom—a policy which, if adopted, would leave nothing to be done except for Congress to provide some means of finally remunerating the *loyal* men of the South, when their slaves might, by the military power, be declared free also. And, in my opinion, to grant the delay that waiting for Congressional action would require, is granting a great deal. When, to prevent the spread of a conflagration, it becomes necessary to destroy any man's property, it is not customary to wait for a committee to assess damages; the danger is summarily removed, and the question of damages is an after consideration. So it should be with emancipation; and for another reason, also, which is, that the amount of damage in individual cases cannot be estimated for years after emancipation. Many slave owners would grow rich by the operation, without the receipt of a dollar from Government, caused by the increased value of their lands, and the better system of labor they would be compelled to adopt.

"But what would you do with the slaves?" *Do with them?* What would be the necessity of doing *anything* with them, except to pass laws for their protection? Is not their labor needed where they are? Has it not been demonstrated by the results of emancipation in other countries that as freemen they are less dangerous than as slaves, and that their willingness to labor will induce them to continue in the service of kind masters for *wages*, to the moral, mental, physical, and pecuniary benefit of both? Has the freed slave been a curse in those States of the North where slavery has been abolished? Our history proves the contrary. They have always taken care of themselves when freed, and found it much easier than before freedom, when

they had to earn their master's living as well as their own. Yet people still say that they are dependent upon a master for support, and that when freed they become public nuisances, to get rid of which some colonization plan must be invented for their removal. If there is anything I abominate more than slavery, it is the schemes that are sometimes hatched for colonizing men against their will. The inevitable failure of such schemes, in a financial point of view, only saves them from condemnation by making them supremely ridiculous through their absurdity. Whenever the eggs of colonizationists do not become disgustingly addled during the process of incubation, the chicks that come out of them are sure to die young, in consequence of the utter inability of their progenitors to furnish enough of the "wherewith" to keep the breath of life in their gluttonous bodies. All the colonization chickens yet hatched have proved to be natural gourmandizers, the pecuniary sustenance of which is a financial impossibility. This being the case, the spasmodic efforts of colonizationists are, at present, unworthy of opposition; but if, in the future, public interest should be so aroused and absurd prejudice so excited as to make *involuntary* colonization practicable, then would come a time to enter an earnest protestation in the name of justice and humanity. Yet, if you could *persuade* negroes to emigrate to Central America, or elsewhere, where they might have some hope of retaining their identity, and possibly building up a nation superior to that of any other colored people, and thereby establish a national character which would elevate the colored race in the eyes of the world,—if you could induce them to *try* this, so that they would go cheerfully and hopefully, I would be glad to see it, for their own sakes, in order that they might be removed beyond the reach of the white man's injustice; but the idea of exporting freemen against their will, as if they were criminals, is only a little less cruel and unjust than slavery itself. The long time that has elapsed since their ancestors were brought to America, their association here with a cultivated race, their religion, their education in some of the arts of civilization, and, more than all, the spirit of pride and aspiration that characterizes many of

them, have established a much greater difference between them and the people of Africa than exists between them and us. Henry Clay's scheme of emancipation and colonization was a project for the sole benefit of the white people of Kentucky. He represented to them how disastrous slavery was to all their interests, and inserted in the scheme a clause providing for the sale, in other States, of slaves the owners of whom might desire to dispose of them before the advent of the distant period when the progeny of such slaves, if born within the State previous to the specified time, should become subject to the provisions of the law. In this way the curse would be transferred from Kentucky to the neighboring States, after the style of the young convert who, believing that her artificial flowers were drawing her soul down to hell, took them off and gave them to her sister. Neither had justice to the slave any part in Clay's scheme, notwithstanding his pretensions at the close of the following extract from his letter of advice to the people of Kentucky: "I am utterly opposed to emancipation," writes Mr. Clay, "without the colonization of the free blacks." He then urges the benefits that will result from the adoption of his scheme as follows :

"We shall acquire the advantage of the intelligence, the fidelity, and the constancy of free labor, instead of the carelessness, the infidelity and the unsteadiness of slave labor; we shall elevate the character of white labor, and elevate the social condition of the white laborer; augment the value of our land, improve the agriculture of the State, attract capital from abroad to all the pursuits of commerce, manufacture, and agriculture; redress, as far and as fast as we prudently can, any wrong which the descendants of Africa have suffered at our hands, and we should demonstrate the sincerity with which we pay indiscriminate homage to the great cause of the liberty of the human race."

The first portion of this extract is worthy of consideration, because it is true; but the latter part is deserving of nothing but contempt for its inconsistency and insincerity. To illustrate the absurdity of such a method of redressing the wrongs of the slaves, I will cite a parallel case: A certain New England sea captain, thirty years ago, brought home from one of the South Sea islands a female child, as a servant for his family. The girl grew to womanhood, and, the passions of some Northerners not being very un-

like those of our Southern slave-breeders, a child was born to this woman, of which the son of the captain was the reputed father. The old man was just. He acknowledged the paternity of the child, (which is *not* often done by white grand-parents, or white parents either, down South,) he nurtured it kindly, (which is occasionally done at the South,) he provided for its education, (which is sometimes done at the South also,) and it grew up in all respects an American, except the tinge of foreign blood derived from its mother. Suppose now, the mother dies, (as the native Africans have all died at the South,) and the old man's son should say to the native-born American, in whose veins his own blood runs, "My father did you great injustice by bringing your mother to this country, where you can never be on an equality with white people. She is dead, but I will redress *your* wrongs by sending you to the South Sea islands, after you have worked for me till you earn money to pay the expense of your transportation." The boy looks up in alarm, and replies, "Why, I do not want to go to the South Sea islands; I know nothing about that country; I was born here; educated here; this is my natural home, and I could not be happy in the climate and among the people of a region to which I am not accustomed." "Tut! tut!" says the man, "what do you know about such things? Has not the great statesman of Kentucky declared that this is the *only* way to redress your wrongs?" Argument is quite unnecessary on this question; a simple illustration is sufficient to overturn all that could be advanced in favor of the justice of colonization. But there is one other point in Mr. Clay's letter worthy of notice as a curiosity of inconsistency. It is the closing assertion that the emancipation scheme, a prominent feature of which was a provision for the sale of men into endless bondage, "*would demonstrate the sincerity with which we [the aiders of such a scheme] pay homage to the great cause of the liberty of the human race.*" Funny old fellow was that same Harry Clay—"Clay the philanthropist"—a curious example of the ridiculous spectacle a talented man can make of himself by endeavoring to clothe the most terrible fo crimes in the garb of justice and benevolence.

But—to return to the subject—with freedom, the slaves would rapidly improve. In New York, where I have resided during most of my life, and have taken pains to inform myself on this subject,—which always interested me,—I can testify that the records of the courts exhibit a greater comparative freedom from crime among the colored men than among the whites, with all their advantages of social position, education, and freedom from the disabilities of an insane prejudice. Even in New York city, where a disproportionately large number of the more degraded among the colored race reside, the statistics show that they are far less burdensome to the poor fund, in proportion to their numbers, than the whites; while in the colored schools of the city there is a larger number of children, in proportion to the population, than in the same class of schools for white children. This, of course, is attributable, in a measure, to the large number of white children that attend a higher class of schools, to which the blacks are not admitted. When we consider that, although slavery was provisionally abolished in 1799, yet it is now less than forty years since it ceased to exist in that State, and that, during the earliest portion of that time the acquirement of education and the accumulation of property were lightly regarded by the negroes, in consequence of the dependent and thriftless habits engendered by slavery, we may safely assert that the progress they have made is far more creditable to them as a race than white people are generally willing to admit, especially in California, where the colored man is driven from our courts of justice (!), and his claims for the rights of citizenship laughed to scorn. Yet Chancellor Kent says :

“Citizens, under our Constitution and laws, mean free inhabitants born in the United States, or naturalized under the laws of Congress. If a slave, born in the United States, be manumitted, or otherwise lawfully discharged from bondage, or if a black man be born in the United States, and born free, he becomes thenceforward a citizen.”

This opinion was written long before the Dred Scott decision; and, I think, is not only older but *better* authority. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, colored men voted in a majority of the States,—in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode

Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and North Carolina; and long after that they continued to vote in North Carolina, and also in Tennessee, after the admission of that State into the Union. I do not say they should, as a class, be allowed to vote *now*. I would neither give nor refuse the privilege of voting on account of color. There are other and far higher qualifications that should be required in a voter than a white skin merely. We have too many voters already for the good of the country. No right of governing others should be accorded to a man who is incapable, either through ignorance or immorality, of governing himself. There is far too much license in America for the good of the people. Yet am I an advocate for "equal rights," just so far as men prove themselves equal to exercise them; and wherever men are not fit for the exercise of all the rights of citizens, every effort should be made to improve them. During the past ten years,—or since I have been able to think discriminatingly,—I have felt less and less pride in the greatness and glory of my country, and more and more desire for the progress and elevation of humanity. Man, the world over, is my brother—be he black, red, or white. We all have one origin, one destiny, one God to rule over us, and one common grave waiting to receive us. Men are unequal in capacity and cultivation, but they have *the same natural rights*. It is maintained as one of the laws of nature that, throughout every grade of the animal creation, the stronger invariably governs the weaker. I admit it; but, among men, the right to govern does not give the right to oppress. On the contrary, it involves the duty to protect, to nourish, and to elevate, in order that the whole human family may move on harmoniously, in accordance with that other and higher law—the law of progress. That all men may have opportunity to advance according to their capacity, I would remove every bond that holds them down—and especially where it is evident that the same bond that keeps down the slave degrades also the master. "Emancipation should [*not*] be the last resort of the Government in this war," but it probably *will* be the last, because by no other means shall we put down the rebellion; and this fact being clear to my mind, I am

in favor of making "the last first," in order that the war may end quickly.

Final emancipation is our only hope, and *speedy* emancipation our best policy. In urging this policy upon the people, I have not referred to the threatening aspect of our foreign relations, for I believe we should do the right thing because it is right, and not through fear of a war with a foreign power if we persist in the wrong. We have never been in the habit of looking to the monarchies of Europe for any approval of the acts of a republican government; nevertheless, at this crisis, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that hostilities with foreign powers are liable to commence at any moment. There is a great difference between the spirit of the British Government towards this country, and that which animates a majority of the British people. The sympathies of the people of England not being, as yet, strongly enlisted in favor of the Union, as would be the case if our policy were emancipation, the British Government is left free to wage war against a republic of which it has always been jealous, and which, if again united, will be its greatest rival; while, in case of disunion, an immense trade will be opened between England and the Southern Confederacy, (now almost monopolized by the North,) an alliance will be formed between them, (because it will then be too late for the people to restrain the Government,) and the material prosperity of England will be much enhanced. Though France and Spain would be less directly benefited than England, the *rulers* of those countries see in the downfall of this republic the more permanent establishment of monarchical rule throughout the world; and, though professing friendship, they stand ready to make use of any pretext that would enable them to insure the permanent disruption of this Government. While we maintain our present policy, they may safely aid the rebellion without giving offence to their own people; but let our Government proclaim emancipation, and the enthusiasm of the people of France would warn the Emperor of the danger of running counter to such an immense public opinion; while the British Ministry, controlled by the British people, would foresee itself crushed by any attempt to interfere against a

cause so holy as would then be the cause of our Government; and Spain, without England and France, would be powerless. We should have the sympathy of the people of the world, the approval of our own consciences, and the smiles of a benignant Providence.

CONCLUSION.

Having investigated the results of emancipation in other countries, elucidated the true and only cause of the war, and indicated what I conceive to be the sole remedy, I have now to consider some of the changes which must inevitably follow this contest.

If any man supposes he is hereafter to live in this country under precisely the same system which has heretofore governed us, he is greatly in error. We *must* have a change—else why this rebellion? There was never a revolution without a cause, and never a war that did not produce changes beyond the intention of those who brought it on. So it will be with this war. It is one of the means which God has ordained for the progress of man.

I look for a stronger Government in the future—for a more stable Government, for a Government further removed from the influence of the mob. The heads of Government should have more power, still with careful restrictions, and the terms of office should be extended, that we may not, every year in the States, and every four years in the nation, have a struggle for office that demoralizes the people and draws men away from their legitimate business. Ten years constitute a period short enough to carry out the policy of any Federal Administration; and as to Federal officers appointed by Government, they should retain their places during good behavior. This would build up a privileged class in America—an aristocratic class, perhaps—but better that than a constantly recurring struggle for office among men who ought to be engaged in some regular pursuit. The American people will hereafter have less of license, and more of law; fewer privileges as citizens, and more rights as men; less diversity of law among the States, and more unity as a nation. Some of the powers now exercised by the States must belong solely to the

General Government. Federal power and "State Rights" must be more clearly defined—the former extended and strengthened, and the latter much weakened. The elective franchise should also be restricted, and the laws regulating it made uniform throughout the Union. We must have *one* government in spirit and in power, as well as in name, instead of a "confederation of petty nationalities" with conflicting laws in cases often not required by diverse interests. The end of slavery will be the end of one cause of so much special legislation and contradictory enactments by the various States. Citizens of one State must be citizens of all; or else of none—citizens of the nation, everywhere alike entitled to the same privileges and the same immunities. If a high standard can be maintained in New York, a low one must not be permitted in California, by means of which a man who is protected in the one State may be expelled from the other. Such things are absurdities under a *national* government. If we are one people, we must have one common rule. Laws to apply in one section and not in another should be made only to meet the requirements of *local* causes, and never extended to such general principles as those which determine claims to citizenship and secure the common rights of the people.

The changes that will occur in the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country will not be less important than the political reforms. It is an axiom that, in the affairs of human life, no necessity can exist for the possession of anything that is beyond the limits of possible attainment. The wants of the greatest commercial and manufacturing nation of the world render necessary, at the present time, a greater supply of cotton, and a more certain supply in the future. Cotton is England's necessity. The English poor demand it; the English capitalists will see that they *have* it; and they look elsewhere for it than to the United States. Already promising experiments have been made in many portions of the civilized and uncivilized world, notwithstanding the results of the increased cotton culture in India are highly favorable to the production of a cheap, plentiful and perma-

nent supply for the looms of England. In Australia, successful experiments have been made, and in the West Indies, also, cotton has been cultivated, even on the mountains of Jamaica, three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the product of last year's crop was sold in the Manchester market for sixteen cents per pound, so superior was its quality. There are millions of acres, equal to the ground on which that crop was raised, now lying waste in the West India colonial possessions of Britain, while there are thousands of persons, not employed on the sugar estates, both able and willing to cultivate cotton for wages so low that its production must be profitable to the planter. In China, too, cotton is produced, and in the wilds of Africa, according to the reports of Livingstone, there are large tracts of country covered with the cotton plant in a wild state, not of so good quality as our American article, but undoubtedly susceptible of improvement, and freely gathered by the natives, and sold in exchange for cheap articles of English manufacture. The Egyptian cotton is also seeking a market in England, and, while experiments in Central America prove the adaptability of that country to the production of an excellent staple, the cotton tree of Peru is said to bid fair to revolutionize entirely the cotton culture of the world. This war has sent the English capitalist and statesman on a world-wide search for cotton fields. They have found them, and five years will develop their products. We shall have peace in this country before that time, (I hope,) and the products of our nation's industry will again seek a market in lands across the sea; but cotton will not find it, (at remunerative prices,) and the consequence will be a decrease in its production here, and a corresponding increase in the cultivation of the cereals, which will command better prices. Those fields in the South peculiarly adapted to the culture of cotton will still be used for the production of a crop for the home market, and the great North, with its accustomed magnanimity, will consent to its protection by a tariff on the foreign article. Then will our Northern looms again be supplied by Southern cotton, and our southern brethren again be clothed with the goods of Northern manufacture;

the internal trade of the country will increase, and the commercial transactions with foreign nations comparatively decrease, till another century will witness a state of prosperity in the Union never before dreamed of. The nation will be a world within itself—self-producing, self-sustaining, self-governing—independent of all the nations of the earth for any of the necessities or comforts, and for most of the luxuries of life. Then will there be free labor throughout the whole country, harmonious interests affecting the whole people, and a bond of union established that will grow stronger with each succeeding generation. Nature has given America the resources, and a free people will develop them. Who can picture the future of a country extending from sea to sea, from the torrid almost to the frigid zone, embracing every variety of climate, and inhabited by a people more generally educated than any other nation on earth—an industrious, enterprising, and progressive people, in the enjoyment of all the blessings of a most liberal and beneficent government—a government which though in some of its features is now too far in advance of the condition of the governed, will, in that glorious future, even in most of these respects, be fitted for the people which, on this continent, will become the leader of civilization, the exemplar and teacher of the world?

APPENDIX TO SECOND EDITION

Less than a week has elapsed since the issue of the first edition of this pamphlet, during which time so many criticisms have appeared concerning it in the various newspapers of the State, that the author has concluded to issue a second edition, and append a few additional reasons to sustain his positions. For *himself* he has no defence to offer, except as to the charge of "assuming the office of adviser to the people of California." To this he answers that if he has taken upon himself to offer advice, it is because no newspapers in the State, (except the *San Jose Mercury*,) and but few public men, have dared to tell the truth with regard to this war. The most gross ignorance prevails concerning the effects of emancipation, and those who should be the teachers of the people are, on this subject, their greatest mystifiers. Hear what the *Alta California* says:

"If the Government should declare emancipation the purpose of the war, and should succeed in breaking down the power of the slaveholders, where would the loving slaves and enthusiastic free persons of color be found? With the torch at their masters' dwelling—with their hands upon their masters' throats—with their feet upon their masters' necks. * * * Whisper never so faintly into the ear of the black man that he may become master instead of slave, and humanity will have cause to shudder at the atrocities which would be perpetrated—for human nature is human nature, no matter what may be the color of the cuticle."

Talk about insurrections caused by freedom! why, such evils are the fruit of slavery, not of freedom. Slavery is the natural mother of servile massacres. Destroy the mother, and there can be no offspring. The best possible method of *preventing* insurrections is to do away with their cause. Without slavery, there would be no occasion for the negroes to rise, having nothing to rise against. *Free* men, surely, cannot insurrect, for they are not oppressed; they create no disturbance, for they have no evil to resist.

It is fashionable in California to cry out against abolitionism; and whatever is fashionable the newspapers of the State endorse. Nearly all of them are the apologists for slavery, because there is a strong prejudice here against abolitionists; and they would just as readily be supporters of the devil, if there was a prevailing spirit against Christianity. The truth is, *news* journals do nothing (or next to nothing) towards directing public opinion. Dependent upon popularity for pecuniary support, their conductors adopt principles and disseminate new ideas when their patrons, the people, evince an *unmistakable* disposition to accept them,—not before.

I cannot copy *in extenso* the various articles that have appeared concerning this pamphlet; but select from them the following assertions:

1. The Florida war was *not* caused by slavery.
2. The "horrors of St. Domingo" show the effects of emancipation.
3. Slavery, in some of the Border Slave States, would have been abolished but for abolitionism at the North.
4. An extension of the terms of office would endanger the liberties of the people.
5. A restriction of the elective franchise would be unjust and inexpedient.

In answer to these assertions I reply :

1.

THE FLORIDA WAR.

Under a treaty with the Creek Indians, in 1821, after that tribe had given up their homes in Florida, the Creeks were compelled to pay for slaves who had left their masters in Georgia for fifty years previous to the treaty, the amount, not exceeding \$250,000, to be taken from money due the Indians for land sold to the United States. Executive Doc. No. 128, First Ses. XX. Congress, shows that the Indians were charged with the value of many escaped slaves concerning whom there was no proof that they had ever been in the Indian territory. The same document assures the President that the price allowed for a slave was two or three times his real value, yet all the claims amounted to only \$101,000, leaving \$149,000 in the possession of Gov-

ernment belonging to the Indians, which, instead of being paid to them, was, by act of Congress, divided among the Georgia slaveholders as interest money. The Creeks, having thus been compelled to pay more than six times the value of the slaves, naturally wanted their property ; but the negroes had, many years previous, gone with the Seminoles, from whom the Creeks had separated and moved west of the Mississippi. The Seminoles, remaining in Florida, had intermarried with the negroes, and become bound to them by all the ties of social and domestic life. They dared not go west of the Mississippi, as required by the Government, through fear that their wives and children would be taken by the Creeks as slaves. The Government wanted Florida as a new field for slave labor, and waged war on the Indians to drive them out. The Seminoles preferred to remain in Florida and defend themselves against the army of the United States, rather than become subject to the Creeks. With them it was war on one side and slavery on the other.

2

MASSACRES IN ST. DOMINGO.

Concerning this portion of the history of St. Domingo, the authentic accounts given by Malenfant and Leeroix, written at the time, prove clearly that it was not the granting of rights to the colored people that produced bloodshed, but the attempt to *restore* slavery, eight years after it had been abolished, although, in the language of Gen. Leeroix, the colony, during those eight years, had "marched, as if by enchantment, toward its ancient splendor. Cultivation prospered, and every day furnished proofs of progress." There had been much trouble several years before in consequence of the outrages committed on the negroes by the whites, but at this time the negroes were orderly and industrious, and everything was going on peacefully ; but a few of the planters, unwilling to pay wages to negroes, petitioned for restoration to power over them ; and Napoleon Bonaparte, thinking it good policy to conciliate this class, even against the remonstrances of other planters and proprietors of estates in St. Domingo, tried to restore

slavery by military force, and the result was that the French were driven from the island with great bloodshed. The war between France and England increased the disturbances in St. Domingo, and although it is true that the negro Emperor, Dessalines, did incite the people to the massacre of the whites which occurred on the 28th of April, 1804, yet it was only after innumerable acts of treachery and villainy on the part of the whites had destroyed all confidence in them. The crowning one of these was the imprisonment by Napoleon of Toussaint L'Ouverture, former President of the island, in open violation of the treaty of peace by which the negroes acknowledged the authority of France, and the French granted a general amnesty. Soon after this treaty was made, Toussaint was treacherously seized and conveyed to France, from whence he was sent to a prison on the icy summit of the Alps. After three years imprisonment he died, and the outraged people of his native island avenged his sufferings. The massacre incited by Dessalines was one of the disastrous results of an attempt to enslave people, not to free them, and it is time to correct the common misapprehension concerning the cause of that bloody tragedy.

3.

SLAVERY STRENGTHENED BY ABOLITIONISM.

It is not true that any of the Southern States were preparing to abolish slavery at the time the abolition movement commenced in the North in 1835. Some efforts *had* been made to that end many years previous, but none were being made at that time. Virginia made the last move of the kind previous to 1835; her Legislature actually came within two votes of passing a bill for the extinction of slavery; but the increased value of slaves, caused by the increased profit of cotton culture, put an end to the scheme before the year 1835. In the year 1797, Henry Clay recommended his State to pass a law that would do away with slavery in Kentucky in the course of a hundred years; and this scheme, in connection with a system of colonization, he continued to advocate during his half century of public life, including fifteen years after the abolition party was

organized in the Northern States. In 1849 he wrote a letter in favor of emancipation, in hopes it might influence the action of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention held in that year. His scheme provided for the emancipation of the children of all slaves born in the State after the year 1860, such children to be held as slaves until twenty-five years old, then as apprentices until their earnings were sufficient to pay the expenses of their colonization in Africa. This scheme of gradual emancipation, it was supposed, would do away with slavery in Kentucky in about the year 1940,—very gradual indeed,—but the Kentuckians rejected even that shadow of abolition, not in consequence of abolition excitement at the North, but because they never had any intention of giving up the system. The Southerners were just as ardent and as unanimous in their efforts to extend slavery over Missouri in 1820, fifteen years *before* abolition excitement, as they were to extend it over Kansas in 1854, twenty years *after* the excitement commenced. In 1824 the South made a desperate effort to establish slavery in Illinois; and the acquisition of Texas, though not fully consummated, was all planned before the year 1835.

4.

AN OFFICIAL ARISTOCRACY.

“He would establish an aristocracy of office-holders to lord it over the people.”

No, not quite so bad as that. I would, however, prevent the frequent recurrence of struggles for official position; which have the effect of turning honest men into rogues, industrious men into idlers, and men of all professions into ranting politicians; whereas they should be attending to their own business, and endeavoring to provide for the maintenance and education of their families. A nation's prosperity is dependent upon the people's industry. Remove any of the causes that induce men to neglect the cultivation of their fields and the manufacture of marketable goods, and you not only add to individual and national wealth, but you promote the morals and general welfare of society. One of these causes, (and the greatest one in

this country,) could be removed by abolishing the system of short terms in office. The longer a man is kept in office, the better for the people, provided he can be turned out whenever he proves dishonest or incompetent.

5.

RESTRICTION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

"Is this the kind of man to talk of 'equal rights'?"

Yes, I believe in equal rights, using the term in an abstract sense, but when one man fits himself to vote understandingly, and another does not, the latter has not theoretically, and should not have practically, an equal right with the former to vote; because he lacks the intelligence which makes the freedom of choice expressed in the elective franchise a *practical* right: i. e., anything more than a *latent* right. He has a right to demand that the laws enacted by those who *do* vote, for the protection of person and property, the punishment of crime and the redress of grievances, shall be equal in their *application*. Here the poor and the rich, the ignorant and the learned, should all be on an equality; but unrestricted suffrage exercised by an uncultivated people is productive of greater evils than can be caused by a privileged class bound to be just by constitutional restraints. Except for crime, it would not be just to disfranchise any who are now voters; but hereafter no man should become a voter who cannot read and write the English language. A self-governing people must necessarily be an intelligent and a virtuous people. Universal suffrage is adapted only to a people of a high state of cultivation. Every citizen of a government like ours should be educated. No people on earth have yet reached that state of general cultivation which fits them, without exception, to take part in the government. The American people approach nearer to it than any other, but it is not difficult to prove that even we fall far short of that standard. Look at the incompetent men chosen to office; witness the disgraceful appeals that are made to the prejudices and superstitions of the ignorant; see the rewards that are bestowed upon those who are known to be able to influence the votes of any class, society, or nationality; think of the character

of the men who, in most of our large cities, control the party caucuses, procure their own nominations, and, by means of party machinery, secure their election to places which they disgrace by their incompetency or corruption. Could these things be done if there were no ignorant voters to be wheedled by demagogues, and no corrupt voters to be bought and sold for the benefit of unscrupulous politicians, to the great detriment of the people? I think not.

The thirst for office in this country is appalling. The disgraceful scrambles to obtain official position bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every *modest* man who has occasion to witness them. Not only is modesty put to the blush, but *honesty* even; for the means often taken to obtain office are such as no honorable man would be guilty of using. With regard to *one*, at least, of the Federal establishments in this city, (superintended by a man who held office under Buchanan) Republicans and Democrats have meanly contended with each other to obtain or retain official position, and the most unscrupulous man has oftenest won.* Such charges are seldom susceptible of legal proof; but their truth is evident to every one who has become familiar with the course pursued by some of the office-seekers and office-holders on this coast and elsewhere under the Federal Government. A scurvier

* Of the large number of anti-Republican employees still retained in this establishment several of them are men of notoriously bad character, and but very few of them "experts," whose services cannot be dispensed with. The truth is, the labors of earnest Republicans during the past few years have resulted in little more than the election of a President who blindly adheres to the skeleton of a dead party platform, while he appoints the enemies of that platform to office instead of those who were its faithful supporters when it had sufficient vitality to command an honest respect. In this State, not content with conferring the important office of *Superintendent of the Mint* upon an unvarying opponent of the principles of the party—an officeholder and strong supporter of that miserable old "dirt-eater," Buchanan—he gives the *Surveyor Generalship* of the State to another Democrat, (said to be a very good man, by the way,) and the *Appraiser Generalship* to another,—an importation from Boston, an old political hack who has been fed with federal pay by every Democratic Administration for the last twenty years. The man, too, who, from 1856 till the summer of 1860, did most to keep down the Republican party in Santa Cruz, floated into the current when success seemed certain, and was made *Collector of Monterey*. He was Democratic candidate for Sheriff in 1859, and the Republican party being too weak to make a separate nomination, the *Santa Cruz News* advocated his election, (as a matter of policy, to prevent the success of a worse man,) yet, when the publisher had expended all his means, and the office was attached by creditors, he refused to assist the one who had assisted him, because the paper was "a damned Black Republican concern." (He did pay his year's subscription, \$3.) The elevation of such men to office by a Republican Administration is in accordance with the well-established rules of political justice; and it was very verdant in old Republicanism to expect any other result. The retention of the Democratic incumbents would have been more decent; for they, at least, did not turn their coats to save their hides, and like a pack of cowardly jackals steal what they dared not earn. This is not

set of political scoundrels than some of the politicians of California have not an existence on any portion of the globe. This class of men cannot be deprived of the privilege of voting. I wish they could. They are, however, quite beyond reach. Villainy, when united with ability, becomes respectable in America. That is a characteristic of American society. There is, however, a lower class of political reprobates, some of whom may be brought "within the dominion of a healthful restraint." They are the political ruffians and petty criminals of society. The right of such men to vote is not entitled to as much respect even as the claim that is set up in behalf of the uneducated. The influence exercised over the ballot-box by the ignorant man is weaker and less dangerous than that of the condemned criminal or political bully. Therefore, I would have a *moral* qualification also. Nine men in ten, without reflection, pronounce this wholly impracticable. But anything may be *called* impracticable until it has been tried. Already our laws provide for the disfranchisement of men who have been convicted of a capital offence; but many men, under peculiar circumstances, have committed a single great crime, who are much better men and citizens than those contemptible wretches who habitually commit petty offences, and escape capital punishment in consequence of the very *littleness* of their meanness. I assert that for a series of petty crimes (say five in number) a man should be disfranchised, and the law might direct that the records of the various courts should be certified to on the requirement of any citizen, and such certificate presented to a judge of elections in the district where the convict resides, should be entered in a register containing the names of voters in that district, and of all not entitled to vote; then if any disfranchised villain presumed to offer a ballot, after having been informed of his disfranchisement, the law should provide for his arrest and imprisonment, for interfering with the operations of a government the laws of which he habitually disregards.

prompted by personal feeling. The writer did not ask the President for an office. The scramble at Washington was too disgusting for a man of self-respect to join. He does not deny, however, that he did at one time imagine there would be among the federal appointees in this State at least one man capable of perceiving the justice of offering to assist a Republican editor to pay debts unavoidably incurred in the party service; but no such disinterested gentleman has yet made himself known, and it is to be presumed that it will be a long time before any such will be heard from. He does not, however, renounce politics because he has learned to despise a low class of politicians. So long as he lives he will never have done with political contests, while there is a wrong to repress, or a right to uphold; but as for office-seeking, either for his own benefit or that of his creditors, he believes himself much better fitted for a more honest business.



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THE CRISIS.

Events have occurred which fill the public mind with consternation; the universal theme of authors and of orators, the all-absorbing topic of common conversation, is the threatened dissolution of the Union. The action of South Carolina has resuscitated the buried questions of secession and coercion, and rendered the usually indifferent layman inquisitive upon the subject of constitutional law. Under such circumstances a dispassionate and brief exposition of the Constitution of the United States as it has been construed by the highest authority—the great leaders of the Democratic party—may be both interesting and instructive. Without the least pretension to an idea new or original upon the subject, without proposing to discuss the abstract correctness of the Democratic theory, the author asserts that from the year 1798, to the year 1860, inclusive, the right of a State to secede and the inability of the Federal Government to coerce, has been a cardinal principle of the Democratic party. This doctrine was announced in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and unanimously reaffirmed in the Charleston Convention of 1860. This fact it is proposed to establish by a reference to the record, and a citation of the most unquestioned authorities. To make the subject more fully understood, it will be necessary to recur to the early history of the American Government and the formation of parties.

The close of the Revolutionary War found the thirteen American Colonies converted into thirteen independent sovereignties, united by a common suffering, a common sympathy, and a common interest. The provision for collecting revenue under the old articles of confederation, the usual one in confederated governments, that of assessment upon the parties to the confederation without the power of enforcement, had proved ineffectual for the purpose for which it was instituted. It was chiefly to remedy this difficulty, that the Convention of 1787 was called together. That Convention was composed of the talent and ability which had been sifted out and separated from the mental chaff by the trials to which the country had been exposed. It was an assemblage in which Washington, the patriot and warrior, and Franklin, the natural philosopher, paled before the learning and statesmanship of Hamilton, and Madison, and Martin, and Randolph, and Mason, and Pinckney, and Rutledge.

There were many subjects of difference between these distinguished leaders, as will presently be shown, but there was one point upon which

they were all agreed, and that was, that the Federal Government in collecting revenue should be authorized to operate directly upon the individual citizens of the several States, instead of indirectly through the State Governments, as under the old articles of confederation. The object of the change was obvious and avowed. The power that taxes must have the power to coerce, and as coercion applied to a sovereign State amounted to war between the States, and was of course incompatible with union, there was but one alternative, and that was to authorize the central government to apply coercion to individuals. We will presently see that when it was proposed to apply *military* coercion the proposition was unanimously rejected. It never seems to have occurred to the framers of the Constitution that the States could at the same time be *united*, and at war with each other, in a state of *affectionate hostility*.

In the convention three plans of government were submitted: one, by Mr. Hamilton, of a character strongly monarchical; another, by Mr. Randolph of Virginia, designated by himself as "thoroughly national," and which was intended to establish an entire supremacy in the Federal, over the State governments. To both of these plans the small States were bitterly opposed, they insisting upon a strictly *Federal* compact, in which the federated States should retain supreme control over at least all domestic affairs. General Hamilton's extreme views found few advocates, but Governor Randolph's plan of a "supreme national government" was warmly espoused by Mr. Madison, and met with general favor from the large States. At that time Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, were the most populous States in the confederation. The great point for which Mr. Madison contended, was the supremacy of the Federal Government. He was willing to leave some municipal powers to be exercised by the State governments, but he always contended that there should be a power lodged in the Federal Government to determine when the limits, within which the States were to be confined, should be transcended. The more extended these powers the greater the necessity, he urged, for authority in the one or the other to determine, by construction, the line of demarcation between the two. His opponents, chiefly, as has been said, the representatives of the small States, contended that it was as important that the State Governments should be supreme in their sphere, as that the Federal Government should exercise uncontrolled power over the subjects committed to its charge; that neither could be supreme, even in its sphere, if the other, by construction, could contract or expand that sphere at pleasure. They insisted that the States should retain their sovereignty unimpaired over all subjects of a domestic nature, and that it was an absurdity in terms to speak of a sovereignty dependent upon another sovereignty to prescribe its powers. These two were the rival systems of the convention; they were clearly defined, distinctly understood, and were perfectly familiar to every member of the convention as the "National" and "Federal" plans. On this point the large States were beaten by one vote; the "Federalists," as they were then called, prevailed; the States were left to exercise all sovereign powers, except those especially delegated to the Federal Government, without, as the word sovereignty necessarily implies, any higher tribunal to control them, under the plea of construing their powers. The framers of the Constitution preferred to leave this sovereign question of infringement of a compact between sovereigns to the usual and necessary arbitrament of sovereigns, rather than to determine it by submitting the powers of either government to the discretion and control of the other. It was well known afterwards, that had Mr. Randolph's plan of a supreme national government pre-

vailed, the Constitution would have been rejected by the people of the several States, by whom it was ratified.

But it was by constitutional legislation, and not by the exercise of physical force, that the "Nationalists" proposed to subject the States to the Federal Government. Their plan was to give the Federal Government the power of vetoing the State laws. When it was suggested that the States were prohibited from maintaining armies, and that the military force of the Union might be used to suppress what Congress might consider the unconstitutional proceedings of the State governments, Mr. Madison remarked that—

Any government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and as fallacious as the government of Congress. (Meaning the then existing Congress, under the old confederation.) See Elliott's Debates, Snp. vol. 5, p. 171.

Mr. Hamilton as is well known favored the plan of a supreme national government and an entire obliteration of State governments. He proceeds to enumerate the requisite powers of a good government, and amongst other things he declares, "*force by which may be understood a coercion of laws or coercion of arms*, to be a power essential to the exercise of government." From this he argues the absolute necessity of extinguishing the sovereignty and even the political existence of the States, because against them coercion would be war and dissolution. These are his words:

A certain portion of military force is absolutely necessary in large communities. Massachusetts is now feeling this necessity and making provision for it. But how can this force be exerted on the States collectively? *It is impossible. It amounts to war between the parties.*

Mr. Randolph's sixth resolution proposed to give to the Federal Government "power to negative all laws passed by the several States, contravening, in the opinion of the National Legislature, the articles of Union, or any treaty subsisting under the authority of the Union, and to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof."

The first part of this resolution, presented in another form by Mr. Pinckney, had already been negatived. When Mr. Randolph's resolution came up, Mr. Madison said:

The more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, the justice, and the efficacy, of it, when applied to people collectively, and not individually. An union of States, containing such an ingredient, seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound. He moved that the clause be postponed—motion agreed to *nem con.* (See *Ibid*, p. 140.)

And this was the last of the proposition to authorize the Federal Government to use force against any one of the parties to the compact.

Thus it will be seen that the framers of the Constitution fully discussed and considered the difference between a General Government with and without control over State action, and, as the lesser evil of the two, preferred the latter.

In this position the matter stood until, in 1797, under the administration of the elder Adams, Congress passed the Alien and Sedition laws. By one of these enactments, aliens under the protection of the State governments were liable to be banished by the order of the President of the United States, and were subject to imprisonment, without trial by jury, for the disobedience of this order. By the other, it was made a penal offense to speak or write disrespectfully of the President of the United States. Virginia and Kentucky took fire at these enactments. Nobody

now doubts that these laws were tyrannical, oppressive, and unconstitutional. Submission to their operation was not to be thought of. What was the remedy and what the redress for a plain, willful, and deliberate, transgression by Congress of the very limited powers intrusted to it by the Constitution? This was the conflict that had been anticipated by the framers of the Constitution, and for which, against the remonstrances of Hamilton, Randolph, Madison, and Pinckney, they had refused to provide. It is not necessary here to remind the reader of the excitement caused by these notorious statutes; of the trials of Lyon and Callender, and of the impeachment of Judge Chase. Virginia was then in the meridian of her splendor; Jefferson, and Madison, and Mason, and Taylor, adorned her public counsels; she was looked to, to deal with this question. The theory of the government was analyzed, and the subject was disposed of in the resolutions so little understood, so much talked of, known as the resolutions of '98. From these resolutions are taken the following extracts:

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of this State, against every aggression, either foreign or domestic, and that it will support the government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

2. That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the union of the States, to maintain which, it pledges all its powers; and that for this end it is its duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles, which constitutes the only basis of that union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence, and the public happiness.

3. That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact; as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States, who are the parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

These resolutions were drawn and presented by John Taylor, of Carolina, one of the most profound intellects that ever adorned his native Commonwealth. He was, above all others, the founder and exponent of the Republican party. These resolutions having been adopted by the Legislature of Virginia, were transmitted to the other States, by some of whom they were severely censured. The answers returned were, the next winter, referred to a committee of which Mr. Madison was Chairman, and he, with the assistance of Taylor, drafted a report, which, as a State paper, it is no exaggeration to say, has never been surpassed in the history of legislation. It remains, to this day, the most searching, the most thorough, the most complete, and the most satisfactory analysis of the very peculiar government under which we live that has ever been given to the political world. It is even now the text book of the Democratic party. From this report, which ought to be familiar to every Democrat, the following extracts are taken:

It appears to your committee to be a plain principle, founded in common sense, illustrated by common practice, and essential to the nature of compacts, that, where resort can be had to no tribunal superior to the authority of the parties, the parties themselves must be the rightful judges, in the last resort, whether the bargain made has been pursued or violated. The Constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the States, given by each in its sovereign capacity. It adds to the stability and dignity, as well as to the authority of the Constitution, that it rests on this legitimate and solid foundation. The States, then, being parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity, that there can be no tribunal above their authority, to decide, in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated; and, consequently, that, as the parties to it, they must themselves decide, in the last resort, such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require their interposition.

From this view of the resolution, it would seem inconceivable that it can incur any just disapprobation from those who, laying aside all momentary impressions, and recollecting the genuine source and object of the Federal Constitution, shall candidly and accurately interpret the meaning of the General Assembly. If the deliberate exercise of dangerous powers, palpably

withheld by the Constitution, could not justify the parties to it, in interposing even so far as to arrest the progress of the evil, and thereby to preserve the Constitution itself, as well as to provide for the safety of the parties to it, there would be an end to all relief from usurped power, and a direct subversion of the rights specified or recognized under all the State Constitutions, as well as a plain denial of the fundamental principle on which our independence itself was declared.

But it is objected that the judicial authority is to be regarded as the sole expositor of the Constitution, in the last resort; and it may be asked for what reason, the declaration by the General Assembly, supposing it to be theoretically true, could be required at the present day and in so solemn a manner.

On this objection it might be observed, *first*, that there may be instances of usurped power, which the forms of the Constitution would never draw within the control of the judicial department; *secondly*, that if the decision of the judiciary be raised above the authority of the sovereign parties to the Constitution, the decisions of the other departments, not carried by the forms of the Constitution before the judiciary, must be equally authoritative and final with the decisions of that department. But the proper answer to the objection is, that the resolution of the General Assembly relates to those great and extraordinary cases, in which all the forms of the Constitution may prove ineffectual against infractions dangerous to the essential rights of the parties to it. The resolution supposes that dangerous powers, not delegated, may not only be usurped and executed by the other departments, but that the judicial department also may exercise or sanction dangerous powers beyond the grant of the Constitution; and, consequently, that the ultimate right of the parties to the Constitution, to judge whether the compact has been dangerously violated, must extend to violations by one delegated authority, as well as by another; by the judiciary, as well as by the Executive, or the Legislature.

However true, therefore, it may be, that the judicial department is, in all questions submitted to it by the forms of the Constitution, to decide in the last resort, this resort must necessarily be deemed the last in relation to the authorities of the other departments of the government; not in relation to the rights of the parties to the constitutional compact, from which the judicial as well as the other departments hold their delegated trusts. On any other hypothesis, the delegation of judicial power would annul the authority delegating it; and the concurrence of this department with the others in usurped powers, might subvert for ever, and beyond the possible reach of any rightful remedy, the very Constitution which all were instituted to preserve.

We turn now to the Kentucky resolutions, which were drafted by Mr. Jefferson. The first of these resolutions runs as follows:

Resolved, That the several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government; but that by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution of the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whenever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force: That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself, the other party: That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, *each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions, as of the mode and measure of redress.*

It was upon the principles enunciated in these resolutions that the Republican party (afterwards designated as Democrats, by way of reproach) was based; it was upon these principles that Mr. Jefferson was run against the elder Adams, and it was upon these principles that the Republicans triumphed over the Federalists.

But there is better, or at least more modern, authority than even that which has been cited, for saying that the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions embody the fundamental doctrines of the Democratic party. The National Democratic Convention which met at Cincinnati in 1856, inserted in the platform of the Democratic party the following resolution:

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

And amongst these former well-considered declarations which are reiterated with renewed energy, appears the following:

That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

We are now to remember that the members of the Charleston Convention of 1860, were divided between two platforms that were presented in the majority and minority reports, and that both reports affirmed the Cincinnati platform, and that upon the construction of the resolution quoted above, there was no difference of opinion; therefore, it may be said, with the strictest propriety, that the Convention at Charleston, in 1860, unanimously declared that the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions constitute one of the main foundations of the political creed of the Democratic party. Whether he be right or wrong in the abstract, no one can decently claim that he is a member of the Democratic party who does not give in his adhesion to the principles enunciated in those resolutions. Now, let us see how a denial of the right of secession upon the part of a State, and a claim for the power of coercion, upon the part of the Federal Government, accord with the "obvious meaning and import" of these resolutions. They declare that the Federal Government is the result of a compact between sovereign States; that the compact may be violated either through the instrumentality of the separate governments, or through that of the general agent; that a proper construction of the compact ignores the idea of submission to any arbiter of the question of the violation of the compact; that this power the several States reserved to themselves; that to have surrendered this power to their confederates would have been to surrender their sovereignty, and to make the federal a consolidated government. If, then, the Federal Government, which is one of limited and special powers, is not authorized to determine the question, when raised by one of the parties to the compact, as to a violation of the compact, how is it possible that it can be empowered to compel obedience from such party? This would be to ascribe to the Federal Government the right to enforce a decree which it is admitted they have no power to render. If they have no jurisdiction of the parties to *determine*, they can have no authority to *enforce*.

But these resolutions, "one of the main pillars of the Democratic creed," declare not only that the States reserved to themselves the power of determining for themselves the question of infractions of the compact, but that it is for them also to judge "of the mode and measure of redress." This is nothing but to assert that a question raised by one of the sovereign parties to the compact, as to a violation of the terms of agreement by any of the other parties, is a question to be determined, not by the common agent under the Constitution, but by the parties themselves, outside of it. The whole difficulty upon this subject vanishes when it is remembered that the Federal Government has no distinctive existence. Upon a little reflection, it will appear that what we call government is the result of a compact, express or implied, written or unwritten. American governments are the result of definite, precise, and written compacts. The State governments are the result of compacts between individuals—the Federal government, of a compact between sovereign States. The one is intended to operate upon and control absolutely the parties to the compact—for every government which is invested with authority to determine the extent of its own powers, is, legally, absolute—the other was designed to control and direct the foreign relations of the contracting parties, but never to determine or control the relations of the parties towards each other. What we mean then by saying that the Federal Government has no distinctive existence is, that it is merely the agent through whom the compact between the States is to be carried out; it is only to be considered as an agent, and that agent always expressing the will of a constitutional majority of its principals. Now,

although it is true that the constitutional majority is to prevail on all legitimate subjects of legislation, Constitutions are adopted for the very purpose of limiting the action of constitutional majorities. But if constitutional majorities are to determine the limits of their own power, they are unlimited; consequently, to grant to the Federal Government, that is to a constitutional majority of the States, the power of construing the compact, would be to make such a majority omnipotent, and defeat the purposes for which the Constitution was adopted. It is only from considering the Federal Government as a distinct and separate thing from the States, that the idea could ever have originated of making it the umpire between the dissentient sovereigns. But when it is remembered that the action of the Federal Government is neither more nor less than the action of the States, the absurdity of making these States the umpire in a case in which they are the parties impleaded, becomes apparent. Let us now take the action of South Carolina and test it by the principles of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, to which we are all so solemnly pledged. She charges that Massachusetts, and other States, who have placed obstacles in the way of the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, have violated the compact from which the Federal Government results. This time the charge is that the contracting parties have violated the compact, not through the instrumentality of the general agent, but directly through the intervention of State governments. According to our well established democratic theory, there is no arbiter to decide this question; it is a dispute between the original sovereign contracting parties. As one of those parties, South Carolina must determine this question for herself, and settle it as best she can with her co-sovereigns—no earthly tribunal can interpose between them. She is the “sole judge of the infraction, and the mode and measure of redress.” She determines that the infraction has been committed, and, as a mode of redress, she resorts to secession. By virtue of her sovereignty she declares that she will no longer hold herself bound by a compact which she adjudges to have been violated by her confederates. If the world thinks she is right in her assertion that the compact has been violated by her associates, “the world” must uphold the propriety of her withdrawal—nay, more, if of several sovereign parties to a compact, a violation of the articles of agreement is committed by one or more, not only is this a cause of *withdrawal* upon the part of the unoffending parties, but it is, by all the laws of nations, a *just cause of war*. Mr. Madison said in the Federal Convention:

If we consider the Federal Union as analogous, not to the social compacts among individual men, but to the Conventions among individual States, what is the doctrine resulting from these Conventions? Clearly, according to the expositors of the law of nations, that a breach of any one article, by any one party, leaves all the others at liberty to consider the whole Convention as dissolved, unless they choose, rather, to compel the delinquent party to repair the breach.

From this doctrine it would follow that, in the eyes of all those who hold that the Constitution is a compact between sovereign States, and to this doctrine the whole Democratic party is pledged, South Carolina would be justified in treating the admitted violation of the compact by Massachusetts and the other States who have refused obedience to the fugitive slave law as a dissolution of the Convention from which results what we call the Union, or she might rightfully punish such violation and compel obedience. She has selected the mildest and most peaceful alternative. It is undoubtedly true, that every other State in the Union is as sovereign as the State of South Carolina, and like her, may determine, each for herself, how she will dispose of the question raised by the position her co-State has assumed. In short, it is a question be-

tween the original sovereign parties to the compact, to be settled, like every other question between sovereigns, by acquiescence, negotiation, or the sword. It is not pretended that the independent position of South Carolina may not be treated as a cause of war by some or all of the other sovereign States of the Union. It is only asserted that the Federal Government is not authorized to speak for the offended States upon this subject. It may be said, that upon the Democratic theory, South Carolina has become a foreign nation, and that Congress is authorized to declare war against such a people. To this proposition South Carolina has no objection to make. Although it may be theoretically true that the withdrawal of one partner destroys the condition upon which the others joined, it is certainly competent for the remaining partners to make a new firm upon the former terms, omitting the quondam member. Possibly, such would be the effect of an acquiescence upon the part of the remaining members of the confederacy in the continued action of the common agent. It would certainly not lie in the mouth of the seceding State to complain that the self-constituted agent of the other States was exercising a power not conferred by those States. But the right does appertain to the remaining States, or any one of them, to say to the general agent, "whilst I have invested you with the authority to declare war against foreign powers, that authority must be construed to have been limited to those nations who were when the power was granted, of a foreign nationality." Kentucky might well say to the general agent, "I never authorized you to commit me to a war against the people of Virginia, from whom, for the most part, my people derived their manners, habits, customs, and lineage."

But, grant that South Carolina has, by her own sovereign act, withdrawn from the North American Confederation and become towards the other States a foreign people—grant that by acquiescence the remaining States have formed a new confederation upon the old terms, then there is no question that Congress would have power to declare war against South Carolina. But the Executive of the United States cannot declare war against a foreign nation, and without such a declaration upon the part of Congress, he has no power to commit an act of aggression upon an unoffending friendly people. But admitting, which our Democratic doctrine does, the right of South Carolina to withdraw from the Union at her sovereign will and pleasure, what has she done, or what is she likely to do, to justify the other States in making war upon her? On our theory she stands just where she did had she refused originally to become a member of the Confederation. The other twelve States would, perhaps, have had the physical power, would they have had the moral right to coerce her into the Confederation? There is no doubt that for a violation of moral principles a nation is only responsible to public opinion, and that a very large latitude is allowed to national morals. Still, there are limits which no nation can transcend. The day has arrived when no powerful people can make war upon a weaker nation without assigning some decent pretext for such action. Now, if the withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union be no cause of war, and in Democratic eyes it cannot be, what has she done, to justify such a procedure? If she has a right to withdraw from the Union and restore herself to her original status, she is of course, bound for her quota of the public debt and entitled to her quota of the common property. As to the territory ceded to the community for forts, arsenals, etc. the purpose for which they were ceded having lapsed, they of course revert to the donor. This is a principle familiar to the mind of every lawyer, and one which needs no illustra-

tion. To assert her title to this reverting territory is the necessary consequence of her admitted right to assume her original status.

But it is not only to the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions that South Carolina can appeal for support in the position she has assumed. She may point to the Declaration of Independence, one clause of which reads as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just rights from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

We have seen that Mr. Madison objected, in the convention of 1787, to the proposition to empower Congress to use force for the purpose of compelling obedience upon the part of a refractory State, putting his objection upon the ground that such a power would be in direct contravention of the whole object of the Constitution, which was to secure harmony and concord, and not to provide for hostilities, and that this objection was unanimously sustained by the convention. Now, South Carolina must be either considered as a refractory State within the Union, or a foreign Republic out of it. In the first case we see that from the Constitution was excluded, *ex industria*, any clause giving Congress the power to forcibly reduce her. The only ground upon which the Federal Government can proceed against her is upon the presumption that she is a separate, independent, foreign Republic, and that the remaining States have tacitly renewed the former compact, that is, readopted the Constitution of the United States. Then, indeed, the Congress of the thirty-two remaining States would have the constitutional power to declare war against South Carolina. But what cause has she given, or what cause is she likely to give, for such a declaration? If there be anything in the Declaration of Independence she has done no more than exercise a great national right in abolishing her former connections and instituting a government in the opinion of her people "more likely to effect their safety and happiness." If there be anything in the resolutions of '98, which the Democratic party is so solemnly pledged to carry out, she is only exercising a reserved right in judging of the infraction of the compact by her confederates, and she has certainly availed herself of the most peaceable and unobjectionable mode of redress. In neither aspect can her act be considered a justifiable cause of war. In such a war South Carolina would necessarily command the sympathy, if not the assistance, of every pure, honest, upright, Democrat, or there is no meaning in pledges or professions.

Is it not now apparent that when an individual calling himself a Democrat advocates the doctrine of coercion, he is overthrowing one of the "main foundations of the creed" of the party to which he professes to belong? If he be honest, when he comes to understand this subject thoroughly, he must either abandon his views, or take position with the opponents of the Democratic party.

It is contemplated, however, that South Carolina may take forcible possession of that portion of her territory, which has been heretofore used by the Federal Government for forts, arsenals, etc. and this, it is said, will be just cause of war. Surely this is incorrect. If South Carolina may legitimately withdraw from the Union and establish a government more productive in her opinion of safety and happiness, the end and object for which the original grant was made having lapsed, by every rule of law and morality, as has been urged before, the thing granted reverts

to the donor. To say that South Carolina might legitimately become a separate and independent Republic, but that she would still be under an obligation to permit a foreign power to keep up forts and arsenals within her territories, would be a contradiction in terms.

But we are told by the coercionists that they propose to take no action against the sovereign State of South Carolina; they will ignore her action and enforce obedience to the laws of the United States upon the part of individuals. The old Federal party in its palmy days never went quite so far as to ignore the separate existence of the sovereign States of this Union. The man who subscribes to the resolutions of '98 recognizes it as the sheet anchor of our political system. But let us see where the doctrine of the coercionists will lead us. They propose to operate upon individuals and not on States. There is then to be no war; every thing that is done, is to be done in time of profound peace, and yet they contemplate the commission of homicides within the territorial jurisdiction of the State. Suppose an armed force should approach Fort Sumter—suppose Major Anderson's company should fire on them and some of them should be killed, would not such an act constitute a legitimate subject of inquiry by a grand jury of the district in which it was committed, and would not Major Anderson and his men be liable to be indicted, arrested, and tried, by the civil authorities? Would a citizen of the United States, because he was an officer in the army, refuse obedience to the civil authority of the State in which he happened to be resident? Or is it expected that Major Anderson will proclaim martial law in South Carolina, place himself above the laws, and try his fellow-citizens, in time of profound peace, mark you, by a drum-head court martial? The advocates of coercion may take their choice between the operation upon individuals, or warlike hostilities; either way, they find themselves embarrassed by the rejection in the convention of the proposition to bestow upon Congress the power of coercing a seceding State. If they declare war, it must be against an unoffending, independent, neighboring government. If they do not recognize the separate and independent existence of her government, then, are her citizens, for any individual offenses with which they may be charged, entitled to be tried by the civil tribunals of the country. In neither event can a military force be legally and rightfully brought to bear upon them. The last section of the third article of the Constitution of the United States reads as follows:

The trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed.

The sixth amendment secures the accused a speedy trial, and confines the place to the *district* in which the crime is charged to have been committed.

So that if any of the citizens of South Carolina are charged with having committed any overt act of treason within the State of South Carolina, they must be tried by a jury, in the State. There is not much question as to the result of such a trial, and to this remedy are the coercionists, who propose to operate, not upon States, but upon individuals, necessarily confined.

It is sometimes urged, in opposition to these views, that Congress is authorized "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws, or suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." Can it be pretended that this clause authorizes Congress at its will and pleasure to substitute for the civil tribunals and jury trial, military punishment, and yet to this extent must the coercionist who relies on this clause go. There is another clause

in the Constitution which explains the one to which we have referred. The fourth section of the fourth article reads as follows:

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, *on application of the Legislature*, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence.

Now it is we learn when and how the militia are to be used in enforcing the laws of the Union in suppressing insurrection, or repelling invasion. The laws of the United States, passed in pursuance of the Constitution, are the laws of the several States. Now, a systematic opposition may be made within a State by her citizens to the execution of her laws. The civil power may be incompetent to execute the decrees of the civil tribunals; they may be forcibly resisted. This would constitute a case of domestic violence. Such was the action of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco in 1856. But whether in such cases the militia of other States is to be called into action, is a question, not for the Federal, but the State, government. The militia may be used against a foreign enemy, that is to repel invasion, at the discretion of Congress, but, to quell internal or domestic violence, within the limits of a State, it can only march at the request of the State.

General Jackson stands deservedly high in the esteem of the American people. His conduct towards South Carolina, in 1832, is often appealed to in support of the doctrine of the Federal coercionists. It might be enough to say that we are not a nation of hero worshippers—that a man, however good, however pure he may be, is liable to err, and it is only a people steeped in ignorance and superstition who can be made to believe in the infallibility of any mortal. But the truth is, the conduct of the President, in connection with the unhappy troubles of 1832, has been grossly misrepresented, both by his friends and foes. Instead of the violence and ferocity that is attributed to him, General Jackson's conduct was marked by a moderation and forbearance that are in striking contrast with the bloodthirstiness which is displayed by those who imagine that they are imitating the old hero. It is true that the "proclamation" denied the right of nullification, even of secession, and asserted the power of coercion; but this document, and the message afterwards transmitted to Congress, one of the ablest Federal papers that has ever emanated from that old party, were written by Edward Livingston, himself a Federalist, and one of the most accomplished scholars of his day. Its doctrines were indignantly repudiated, by not only the Democratic party, but by the States Rights Whigs. Mr. Bell, Mr. John Bell of Tennessee, as Chairman of the committee to whom was referred the South Carolina message of the President, accompanied the presentation of what has been somewhat erroneously called "the force bill," with a report, from which is taken the following extract:

The committee are fully sensible that the attitude assumed by South Carolina may seriously embarrass the operations of this government; yet they maintain, that if, in a controversy between the General Government and one of the States, a resort to the military and naval power of the Union can ever be justified, that resort should only be made in the last extremity, and after every other mode of adjustment has failed. While we can never forget that the Constitution was founded on the free and voluntary consent of the people of the several States, and that it was the result of compromise, we are equally conscious that it can only be preserved by a spirit of conciliation and forbearance. What would be the consequences of employing force for the purpose of terminating the present unhappy controversy, it is impossible to foresee. The interest in the question from which it has originated is not limited to a single State, but extends to an entire section of the country; and, among the unhappy results of the application of force, there is reason to fear that, from a controversy between the General Government and a single State, it would extend to a conflict between the two great sections of the country, and might terminate in the destruction of the Union itself.

But, independent of the danger thus apprehended, and even admitting that the dreaded ca-

lamity referred to might not result from the employment of force as contemplated, still it would produce, throughout the Southern country, a state of feeling towards the government, and a deep and settled hostility against the other sections of the Union, which every patriot would deplore, and which every statesman should earnestly endeavor to prevent. Influenced by these considerations, and anxious to avoid, if possible, even the hazard of civil war or bloodshed, your committee, in the bill which they herewith submit, propose to enlarge the powers and give additional strength to the process of the United States courts, in the hope that the energies of the government, acting through its judicial tribunals, may prove abundantly competent to the emergency.

Ours is essentially a government of laws; and their enforcement must mainly depend on enlightened public opinion. So long, then, as these laws are mild and just in their character, and equal and impartial in their operation, we need no other guaranty for their execution than the virtue and intelligence of the people. When, therefore, a law is made by the government so oppressive and destructive to the interests of the people of one of these States as to determine them to resist it at every hazard, it is evidence of the justice of their complaints, which should not be disregarded; and it is the bounden duty of the Legislature, instead of devising rigorous means to enforce it, to modify the obnoxious law. Such is now the case with South Carolina; and in addition to the unanimous testimony of her own people, and of a very large portion of the people of the Southern States, as to the injustice and oppression of the tariff laws, she is sustained by a great number of our fellow-citizens throughout the Union. The President, too, in his message at the commencement of the present session, earnestly impressed on Congress the justice and importance of altering and modifying the laws in question; and your committee have no doubt that if the recommendations of the Chief Magistrate are carried out by the passage of the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, it will tend more effectually to allay the excited feeling of the South, to avert the crisis with which we are threatened, and to restore harmony to our once happy Union, than any provisions which can be adopted for the removal of custom-houses, clothing the courts with additional powers, or invasion by fleets and armies. But, should Congress still refuse to yield to the complaints and remonstrances of the South; should that feeling of kindness and conciliation so indispensable to the preservation of this great confederacy cease to exert its influence; and should the laws now in force, together with the provisions contained in the bill herewith reported, be evaded, or successfully resisted by the State of South Carolina, then, and not till then, in the opinion of your committee, will it be time for the representatives of the American people to consider and decide that most delicate and deeply interesting question—the right of the Federal Government to reduce one of the sovereign members of this Union to obedience to its laws by military force; a power, let it be remembered, that was several times proposed to be given in the formation of the Federal Constitution, but never conferred.

It will thus be seen, much, no doubt, to the surprise of some of the readers of these pages, that the committee who reported what is commonly called the Force Bill, were very far from supposing that there was anything in that bill that recognized “the right of the Federal Government to reduce one of the sovereign members of this Union to obedience to its laws by military force.” The fact is, the bill and the report were a repudiation of the doctrine of the Livingston proclamation and message. The message asserted the right of coercion, and asked for the passage of a law authorizing the collection of cash duties in the port of Charleston. We have seen how the committee disposed of the doctrine of coercion; they denied the request for the removal of the Custom-House and the collection of cash duties. Their views on this subject are expressed in the following paragraph:

The committee have made no provision for the removal of custom-houses, and exaction of cash duties, as suggested by the President. Such regulations, especially the latter, they conceive would be in violation of those clauses of the Constitution which declare that “all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States,” and that “no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another.” To require the duties on goods brought into the ports of one State to be paid in cash, and to allow a credit upon those imported into the others, would be entirely at variance with that uniformity thus required by the Constitution, and must give a decided advantage to those ports where the credit system prevails, over those where cash payments are enforced. It would do more; it would be virtually denying to citizens of one State privileges which are enjoyed by those of another. The merchant at Charleston must pay the custom-house duties on receiving his goods, while the merchant at Savannah is allowed a credit of from three to twelve months. Is this uniformity? Do these merchants enjoy equal privileges?

This little clause in the Constitution, which forbids any distinction between the different ports in the Union, operates as a terrible stumbling block to those wisacres who propose to collect revenues in a peculiar and summary manner in the harbor of Charleston.

It was in view of the doctrines of the proclamation, and the dignity they derived from General Jackson's great name, that the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were incorporated in the first Democratic platform, where, as has been before shown, they have remained ever since. There is another proof, if any were wanting, that the federal doctrine of coercion had been repudiated by the Democratic party. Through five years of nullification of the fugitive slave law it has never been proposed to exercise it. The Democrats deny entirely the existence of such a power, and the Republicans think it exists only so far as South Carolina is concerned.

To show that General Jackson, although determined that resistance might be made to attacks upon the forts and troops of the United States, went no further than absolute self-defense, the following extracts are made from instructions given by the Secretary of War to General Scott, who had been sent down to Charleston. Under date of November 18th, 1832, the Secretary writes to the Commander-in-Chief as follows:

Your duty will be one of great importance and of great delicacy. You will consult fully and freely with the Collector of the port of Charleston and with the District Attorney of South Carolina, and you will take no step, except in what relates to the immediate defense and security of the posts without their order and concurrence. The execution of the laws will be enforced through the civil authority, and by the mode pointed out by the acts of Congress. Should, unfortunately, a crisis arise when the ordinary power in the hands of the civil officers shall not be sufficient for this purpose, the President shall determine the course to be taken and the measures to be adopted. Till, therefore, you are otherwise instructed, you will act in obedience to the legal requisitions of the proper civil officers of the United States.

Again, under date of January 26th, 1833, he writes:

It is the most earnest wish of the President that the present unhappy difficulties in South Carolina should be terminated without any forcible collision; and it is his determination that, if such collision does occur, it shall not be justly imputable to the United States. He is therefore desirous that, in all your proceedings, while you execute your duty firmly, you act with as much discretion and moderation as possible. And this course he has never doubted you will adopt.

Self-defense is a right belonging as much to military bodies as to individuals: and officers, commanding separate forts, are responsible, at all times, for their defense, and are bound to use due precaution to avoid danger. If a body of armed men approach Sullivan's Island with apparently hostile views, it will be proper to pursue the course indicated by you to Colonel Bankhead. That is, to warn their commanding officer to retire, and to inform him of the course which you will be compelled to adopt in the event of his continued approach. Should this warning be useless, and the armed body attempt to land, you will be justified in resisting such attempt. But before this unfortunate alternative is resorted to, I rely upon your patriotism and discretion, to endeavor, by all reasonable and peaceful means, to induce any such armed body to abandon their enterprise. The subject is committed to you, in the full conviction, that while you discharge your duty as an officer, you will be mindful of the great delicacy of the subject, and of the anxiety of the President to avoid, if possible, a resort to force. But whatever the first rights of self-defense require, must be done, should a case occur involving such a question.

How different is the tone of these dispatches from that of the blustering bullies who, one would think, long for nothing so much as an opportunity to imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens.

It is not unusual to hear it asked, what is a government worth which lacks the power of self-preservation—a government from which one or more of the community can withdraw at pleasure? Some, even, go so far as to say, that if that be indeed the real character of the American Union, the sooner it is dissolved the better. This is the tone and almost the exact language of the old Federalists. A strong controlling supreme central government has been always a favorite idea with a large and respectable portion of the American people. They have sought to impress this character upon the Federal Government by the most latitudinous construction of the Constitution. Hence, from their favor to the Federal, at the supposed expense of the State governments, they were called "Federalists." The same political view, as we have seen, prevailed in

the Convention of 1787; and amongst its advocates were found some of the most distinguished men of that distinguished body; they were then known as Nationalists; amongst them are to be found the names of Hamilton and Madison. They proposed to make the Federal Government supreme—Mr. Madison, by giving it a negative upon State laws, Mr. Hamilton, by entirely obliterating State lines. Mr. Madison predicted, and warned the Convention of, the very difficulty that now threatens to destroy the Union. He and Hamilton both urged the trouble likely to arise from the clashing either of the State governments with each other or with the central power. They both insisted upon the absolute necessity of a supreme head. They were both beaten in the Convention, and their plans were both rejected. Mr. Madison then declared that the Convention had determined upon a Federal system that was hardly worthy the name of "government." He said, this is a mere federation of sovereign States, and an infraction of the league by one of the States works a legitimate dissolution of the Union. His language has already been quoted. There is no doubt that a consolidated government, as proposed by Mr. Hamilton, or a confederation with final and supreme power lodged in the central head, as advocated by Mr. Madison, has its advantages, especially when the government is to operate upon a homogeneous people, of similar pursuits and similar interests. It is said that Mr. Toombs favors such a government for the Gulf States. But such a government is inapplicable to the diversified manners, habits, customs, and interests, that prevail from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. Mr. Hamilton admitted that the extent of the country, that is of the original thirteen States, embarrassed him in the advocacy both of his own plan and that of Mr. Randolph's. After great deliberation, the Convention, by a single vote, determined in favor of a Federal Government without any power of control over the State sovereignties, and to the wisdom of their action we have been singing hosannas for seventy years. If, however, when we were lauding our great and glorious confederation, we did not know what we were talking about; if, indeed, experience has satisfied us that true wisdom demanded the adoption of the rejected plans of either Hamilton or Madison, let us, in the name of all that is truthful, remodel our form of government, instead of subverting it.

There is reason to fear that the people of the United States have lost much of the simplicity and wisdom of their ancestors. Our forefathers thought, at least the founders of the Democratic party thought, that men were best governed when they were least governed; that wealth, happiness, and morality were best promoted, by leaving industry to seek its own channel, unfettered by legal enactments and undirected by governmental bounties. Their idea was, that the people were strong and rich in proportion as the government was weak and poor. But the public admiration is evidently now fixed on a strong, powerful, and magnificent government. Such we are told is, or ought to be, the character of the Federal Government. "One of the main foundations of the Democratic creed," is, that such neither is or ought to be its character. It is seldom that magnificence and splendor either in government or religion fail to rivet the vulgar gaze, and secure the popular admiration, although that magnificence and that splendor are coined out of the industry and liberty of their admirers.

There is nothing in the nature of things, except the base nature of man, that could have marred the continuance of the American Union, or arrested the progress of the great nation that has grown up under its wing. The plan of confederation afforded all the advantages of small

homogeneous communities with laws which ministered to the wants, interests, and desires, of every member of the Commonwealth, while, united in a league, offensive and defensive, they could set the power of the world at defiance. The difference in climate and soil, with the consequent difference in products, instead of tending to sever, was only calculated to bind these States more closely together by the ties of commerce. What a pity it will be if such a government should fall a prey to the folly and fanaticism of its own members.

The truth is, that both in our Federal and State governments we have instituted a novel experiment. We have dispensed with everything like military force, and relied entirely upon the law-abiding spirit of the people for obedience to governmental decrees. The events of the last few years have gone far to shake the confidence that even the skeptical began to entertain in the capacity of man for self-government. If our experiment should prove a failure, it will be the last that will ever be tried.





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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GREAT MASS MEETING,

IN

FAVOR OF THE UNION,

HELD IN

THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO,

ON

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY,

FEBRUARY 22d, 1861.



SAN FRANCISCO:

PRINTED AT THE ALTA CALIFORNIA JOB OFFICE, 124 SACRAMENTO STREET.

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UNION MEETING, SAN FRANCISCO.

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS, FEBRUARY 20, 1861.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—RESOLUTION No. 1061.—Resolved, that the President of the Board of Supervisors be respectfully requested to call a meeting of citizens, at such time as he may deem proper, for the purpose of making arrangements for holding a Mass Meeting of the People of San Francisco, to give public expression of their sense of the value and desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

In Board of Supervisors, San Francisco, Feb. 18, 1861, adopted by unanimous vote.

In accordance with the above Resolution, I hereby cordially invite all citizens favorable to sentiments expressed therein, to meet this day, at 3 o'clock P. M., in the rooms of the Board of Supervisors, for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to hold a **UNION MASS MEETING**, at as early a day as possible.

H. F. TESCHEMACHER,

February 20, 1861.

President of the Board of Supervisors.

Pursuant to the foregoing Resolution and call, the citizens of San Francisco assembled at the Rooms of the Board of Supervisors, in the City Hall, on the afternoon of Wednesday, February 20, 1861.

PRESIDENT TESCHEMACHER called the meeting to order, and said—

I presume it is hardly necessary to explain the objects which have brought us together. It is to take the preliminary steps

to call a meeting of the citizens of San Francisco, to express their sentiments on the question of the union or disunion of these United States. The first steps taken will be to elect officers of this meeting.

F. M. HAIGHT, Esq., was then unanimously elected President.

MR. HAIGHT, on taking the chair, said :

The President of the Board of Supervisors has stated to you the general objects of the meeting. It is for you now to indicate the mode in which you will proceed by the appointment of committees and so forth.

HENRY J. WELLS, Esq., was then nominated and elected Secretary.

On motion, it was unanimously resolved, that a PUBLIC MASS MEETING, should be held on the 22d day of February, Washington's Birthday, by the citizens of San Francisco, in favor of the Union.

On motion of HORACE HAWES, it was resolved that a committee of five on General Arrangements, and a committee of seven on Resolutions, be appointed.

The following gentlemen were appointed on said committees :

Committee of Arrangements.—H. F. Teschemacher, (chairman,) E. W. Burr, John Middleton, J. D. Stevenson, D. M. Gazlay.

Committee on Resolutions.—Horace Hawes, (chairman,) Delos Lake, Frank M. Pixley, Eugene Casserly, Annis Merrill, A. D. Hatch, G. W. Ryckman.

On motion of A. D. Hatch, the name of Philip A. Roach was added to the Committee of Arrangements.

The meeting thereupon adjourned to the 22d of February.

F. M. HAIGHT, Chairman.

HENRY J. WELLS, Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Mass Meeting on 22d of February.

THE PLACE OF MEETING.

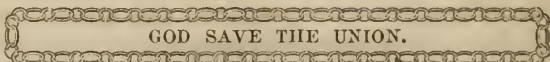
The place designated by the Committees for the meeting was in the wide space or gore formed by the junction of Market, Montgomery and Post streets, in the very heart of the city, and affording room for thirty thousand people at least. It is surrounded by a cordon of buildings, mostly of large size, and is a sort of plaza, admirably adapted to the purpose. The Market street Railroad, of course, traverses it ; but the proprietors permitted no cars to be run through during the time of the meeting.

THE ORATORS' STAND.

The stand from which the multitude was addressed was erected by order of the Committee, in the western portion of the space above described, and close up to the eastern end of the angular building forming the junction of Market and Post streets. It was supported by frame work, was about twelve feet high, and forty by thirty feet in extent. Access was had by a flight of steps on the northern side, and a stout railing was built around the platform, above which rose a series of

pillars, supporting largely printed mottoes, so placed as to meet the eye from every direction. Some of these were as follows :

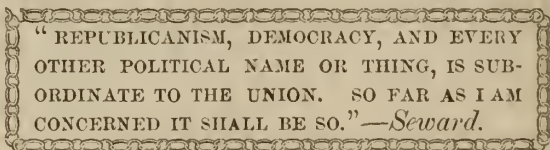
On the southern side :



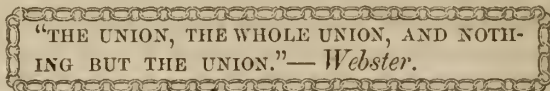
On the northern side :



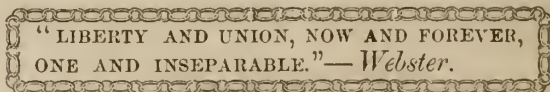
And below :



On the front or eastern side were pictures of WASHINGTON, JACKSON, CLAY and WEBSTER, the frames of which were composed of festoons of red, white and blue, very tastefully arranged, above which, in mammoth letters, appeared :



And below :



Above the stand towered a lofty flagstaff, raised for the occasion, and wreathed with red, white and blue, from the top of which waved the stars and stripes. The arrangements had been made with great care and celerity, and the committee who took the matter in hand, have shown that they were the right men in the right place for the occasion.

Everywhere around the stand the houses were hung with American flags.

By two o'clock, thousands had gathered in front of the stand, pressing forward to obtain good positions from which to listen to the speaking and reading of the eagerly expected Union resolutions. Soon after, the sound of music was heard, and the head of the column, marching eight deep, was seen coming at a quick step, up Montgomery street, headed by the Band of the U. S. 3d Artillery, playing Washington's March; the street and sidewalks perfectly jammed with people, shouting and cheering in the wildest enthusiasm, the windows and balconies along the route filled with ladies and children; even the tops of the houses held their quota of spectators. Cheer upon cheer arose as the procession moved rapidly onward, every man seemed to consider it his province to do his part in swelling the great shout for our national Union.

As the procession reached the platform, the great gathering assumed a shape and dimensions such as the most enthusiastic had not reckoned upon. The numbers, constantly augmenting, gradually increased until the outside ones could have had but little hope of hearing the speakers. By the close of the meeting—for the accessions were constant during the whole two hours—at least *fourteen thousand persons* were congregated, full of unalterable love and enthusiasm for the Union, and eager to pledge California to the galaxy of Union-loving States.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MEETING.

Shortly after two o'clock, Mr. Teschemacher, President of the Board of Supervisors, came forward and said :

Fellow-citizens of San Francisco, we have met here to celebrate the anniversary of Washington's birthday by a Mass Meeting, at which to testify our devotion to the Union and the Constitution. In order to organise the meeting, I propose to you the name of Eugene Casserly, Esq., as President.

Mr. Casserly was elected presiding officer, and the following additional officers were chosen :

Vice Presidents.—H. F. Teschemacher, Ogden Hoffman, John S. Hagar, Edward Stanly, J. B. Crockett, M. C. Blake, B. W. Hathaway, S. R. Throckmorton, Jacob R. Snyder, John A.

Monroe, J. B. Thomas, Albert Dibblee, J. W. Mandeville, Thomas J. Selby, D. J. Tallant, S. C. Field, Alexander Campbell, Louis McLane, J. P. Hoge, S. R. Harris, M. D., F. M. Haight, Charles S. Biden, J. S. Davies, H. L. Dodge, James Otis, Eugene Crowell, James Donahue.

Secretaries.—Henry J. Wells, A. D. Grimwood, H. G. Worthington and O. P. Sutton.

Mr. Casserly took the stand, and being introduced by Mr. Teschemacher, spoke as follows :

Mr. Casserly's Speech.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS :—

The sight of this vast concourse of the people, unexampled in San Francisco for its numbers, its earnestness, its weight in all respects, proves to the most indifferent spectator that it is no common purpose which has brought it together. In truth, no higher summons can ever be delivered to a free people than that which has called us here—to declare at this time our unfaltering devotion to the Union and the Constitution, (cheers,) and our profound solicitude for the speedy restoration of peace, unity, and all fraternal and political relations between all the people and all the States of our country. (Cheers.) For such a duty, what more fitting day than this anniversary of the birth of George Washington? (Cheers.)

No one who reflects can fail to perceive, that the country at this moment is passing through the crisis of her destiny. However painful the conviction, it is irresistible to every intelligent mind. The great calamity against which Washington lifted up his voice of most solemn warning, the dread of which clouded the closing day of Jefferson's illustrious life, and which every good man has prayed he might never live to behold—has fallen upon the American people. States have seceded from our Union. Many other States are deeply disturbed by the question of secession. In some States the authority of the Federal Government and Constitution is practically overthrown. The crisis is without parallel or analogy in our history and in all history. The ordinary means and resources of government fail utterly to reach it. However opinions may differ as to the merits of the sad controversy, no one who comprehends fully the emergency, who wisely loves his country, and who knows the temper of our people, especially in

those States which are disturbed, can fail to see that it is a crisis in which moderation, forbearance, and concession on all sides, are the part of true wisdom and genuine patriotism.

Whatever has occurred, or may occur in those States, or in any of them, let us try never to forget that the people of them are not strangers or aliens, but our countrymen, our brethren—of the same stock, the same speech, the same great nationality. Here in California, most especially, having a population drawn from all the States of the Union, whatever madness rules the hour elsewhere, we never must give up the hope and the duty of a peaceable settlement. (Applause.) That such a settlement will be accomplished, I believe, with an unswerving faith. In the darkest hour, when it seemed as if the whole fabric of government was about to crumble to the dust, I held fast to this faith. And now, what do we see? But yesterday a sudden gleam of light flashed upon us from the Eastern skies. The State of Virginia has spoken. Virginia, never so great as in the greatest crisis of the country,—which in the last emergency has never yet been found wanting to the cause of constitutional freedom and order—Virginia has cast her decisive weight on the side of honorable adjustment and the Union. That illustrious commonwealth gave to the country not only a Washington, but she gave also men like Jefferson and Madison, without whose clear and capacious minds to shape and establish our free institutions, the sword of Washington might have been drawn almost in vain. It is our duty, as a portion of the people of California, by our voice and our example, to do whatever we can to strengthen her hands in her noble efforts to restore and preserve the Union. Most certainly we must do nothing to increase the difficulties of her great undertaking. (Applause.)

The right of secession, as a right under the Constitution and laws of the Union, is a right impossible to be admitted. (Applause.) In my humble judgment, it is a right incompatible not only with the existence of the Federal Government, but, in its principle, is incompatible with any Government whatever. In these times, in this State, the advocacy of such a right is worse than useless. In like manner, I have seen with amazement and sorrow in California, the notion promulgated, that, because unhappily, one or more States have seceded or may secede, the Union is therefore dissolved, and the Constitution destroyed. (Shouts of "Never! never! never!") I join in your emphatic denial of this doctrine. It is unfounded, and in this State is revolutionary. In the name of Washington,

and Jefferson, and Madison, we reject the idea. Those great men were masters in their day and generation, and not apprentices. They knew what work they had to do. They never so did it as that it would fall to pieces at the first assault. They and their fellow-laborers framed the Union and the Constitution, and they framed them to endure. They will endure. (Applause.) Those living forms of our liberties are not so frail as thus, or yet, to perish—

“Spirits that live throughout,
Vital in every part * * *
Cannot, but by annihilating, die.”

(Applause.) The people of all the States adopted and established the Constitution and the Union. What power can dissolve the Union? None on this earth, but that which created it—the will of the people of all the States. (Great applause.) Until their fiat goes forth, the Union can never be dissolved; unless “the great globe itself and all which it inherit shall dissolve.” (Renewed applause.)

It is well for us that it is so; for us who mean to adhere to the Union, and not less so for those who purpose to withdraw from it. It will stand for us and for them in its grandeur and its strength, and its beneficence, to await the day of their return within its ample pale. Let its portals remain open, wide open, for their homeward returning feet! And when that day comes, as come it surely will, we shall welcome them all with the sound of bells and of cannon throughout the land; with Te Deum and Hosanna in all the churches; with tears and joy, with exultation before man and gratitude to God. Let there not be on our part a single act to postpone or to cast a shade upon the glory and happiness of that coming day. (Applause.)

Meantime, and at all times, I am for the Union and the flag. (Cheers.) With that flag, and there alone, our safety, honor and duty lie. (Applause.) Every thread of it has been ransomed, thrice over, by the best blood of all the master races of this world. To the millions of Europe, hoping and striving for freedom, amid the deepest gloom of their oppression, it has shone in the western sky like the star of hope. (Applause.) The exile from the banks of the Rhine, from the sunny Garonne, from the broad Shannon, flies hither for a home under its folds; and on a day like this, of general patriotic observation, he hastens with pride and joy, as yonder, to raise the trampled emblem of his nationality beneath its protecting stripes and stars.

[Here all eyes were directed to the lofty liberty pole of the Orphan Asylum, on the opposite side of Market street, in full view of the meeting, where a fine American flag floated, and below it a Union flag, with the Irish harp on a green ground.]

It has never yet, in the world's history, retired from any war, by land or sea, except in honor and in triumph. It is the sign, the seal, the pledge, the bond of American nationality and union. Let the day never dawn, when they and it shall perish from the earth. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

With these views, I need hardly say to you, that I am for California IN the Union. (Loud cries of "good! good!" and three cheers.) I am unalterably against all movements or speculations for detaching her from the Union. (Renewed cheering.) I can think of no event as possible, in which such a step would be profitable or proper. (Loud Applause.)

We are here upon a land, of which Putnam, and Allen, and Marion, and many another of the stout captains of the Revolution, perhaps never heard, and over which none of them, in his wildest visions of American greatness, ever saw our eagles soar. Though remote from the great events of the time, we are not indifferent to them. Rather, from our very distance, we gain a just perspective of them. Our faces are to the Pacific main and the western sun, but our hearts are with the Union forever. (Cheers.) We never will give up our part and lot in that Union for the dangerous distinction of an isolated, ricketty republic of the Pacific. (Great applause.)

I am an AMERICAN CITIZEN. The first lesson my dawning reason learned from a father's lips was, that no class, or rank, or order, in any country, could give me a title prouder than that. The enthusiasm of youth and the judgment of manhood have confirmed the precept. In that name are my hope and my faith. I never will surrender it, that I may decline upon some petty provincial appellation. (Long and continued applause.)

I have expressed to you imperfectly a few of the thoughts which suggested themselves to me in the brief period since I was notified yesterday of this meeting. A word more.

Remembering the occasion, the day, the man whom we love to honor on this and on all days, let us try to do what we are here to do, as Washington himself could have wished—in kindness, in conciliation, in fraternal loyalty. Surrounded by all the hallowing memories of this anniversary and the solemn exigencies of the time, let us try to do it in his spirit. Of all the great men of the world, the judgment of history concern-

ing him is, and will be, that in his relations as a citizen, a soldier and a statesman, he never yielded to a narrow nor a sectional thought. Great as he was in all things, he was in nothing so great as in this; that he gave the whole of his large heart, of his glorious life, of his self-denying, patient, wise and majestic nature to his whole country and to the whole people of it, in all the sections and all the States, without distinction of race or creed, or party, for his own time and forever. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

The Band then played "Hail Columbia," when the Hon. Edward Stanly was introduced, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Stanly's Speech.

As I came from my residence this morning, the sun was shining in gorgeous splendor; my heart was filled with gratitude to that great Being who makes the outgoings of the morning and evening to praise Him; and my soul was overflowing with exultation, when I beheld our country's flag floating in the breeze, from the mastheads of our noble ships and the tops of our public buildings.

Involuntarily the lines of an American poet rose to my memory, which the thousands before me will re-echo—

"Flag of the free hearts' only home,
By angels hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in Heaven.
Forever float that standard sheet,
Where breathes the foe, but falls before us,
With freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And freedom's banner streaming o'er us."

And I came with cheerful spirit to perform the duty assigned me to-day.

Fellow-Citizens: You have never been called on to take part in any matter of more concern to the State, to the whole country, nor to the world, than that which is the subject of your consideration to-day.

Since 1776, no men have ever been called on to deliberate upon questions of more magnitude than those now presented to your consideration.

We do not invite the people here to-day to discuss abstract questions, nor to consider party issues. We are not to discuss the policy of different measures recommended by different party conventions, whether one or the other is better for the country;

but we are called upon to say whether we are to have a country at all. (Applause.)

We are so highly blessed with peace and prosperity all around us, we have felt so favorably the happy influences of the General Government, our minds have not entertained the belief that any causes could exist in the Eastern States to justify them in destroying the best form of government ever enjoyed by man. Our hopes had influenced us to shut our eyes to the danger. The evidences have multiplied so fast for some weeks past it is our duty no longer to forbear the expression of our opinions.

It is a glorious privilege secured to us by the Constitution—the right to meet together and consult upon the state of public affairs. Our revolutionary fathers felicitated themselves that they had secured us this great privilege. How long we shall enjoy it no man can tell, if the madness that rule some portions of our Eastern brethren should not be rebuked by the voice of the people.

Fellow citizens, in the few words I shall say, I desire to deal in no erimination. I do not wish to stir up the ashes of party strife, or to blame any party for the condition of the country. Far from it. We are not here to-day as party men. We come as American citizens assembling together as men who have great obligations resting upon them. We are here from the North, South, East and West, but elaiming all to be Americans. As such I wish to address you. No matter whether the North or the South is to blame for the present disastrous state of affairs—our common country is in danger. As a Southern man, I might feel disposed to throw the blame from my people; a Northern man would think differently. But how shall the patriot be discovered? Who is ready to yield some claims not saerificing principle, for the public good.

Republicans and Democerats, if your hearts are right, the decision will be such as to bring peace to this distracted land. How, I ask, shall the politician be sunk in the patriot? By a willingness to bear and forbear, to show a spirit of compromise and conciliation, and rely upon the sense of the American people, under the influence of Him, who maketh men to be of one mind in an house.

I will tell you by what standard I would try the patriotism of public men. When two women were before the wisest man that ever lived, each elaiming to be the mother of a child then before Solomon, he decided that the child should be cut in two parts, and given, one part to each woman. One consented;

the other, in agony at the thought of harm to her infant, exclaimed: "O my Lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it!" The King knew that nature would declare the truth, and gave the child to the woman who would not have it slain. (Applause.)

Now, Democrats and Republicans, advocates of Popular Sovereignty or anti-Slavery provisoes—who will yield and save our country from the division of the sword? The American people will remember the result. Who will play the Secessionist and divide with the sword? or who will yield and prove their true love?

Fellow-citizens, when my memory reverts to our Revolutionary history; when I think of the sacrifice of blood and treasure our forefathers made in securing our present form of government; when my mind dwells on the innumerable and inestimable blessings our Union has conferred upon mankind; I confess, I am overwhelmed with gratitude to that Almighty God, who has so signally blessed our hitherto happy country.

I have no time to dwell upon them. They are familiar to us as the pure and exhilarating atmosphere we breathe, as the rays of the sun, rejoicing as a giant to run his course. They are so familiar we have not been grateful for them, nor thought enough of the awful calamities to follow their annihilation.

If I were to pretend to describe them, I should want the power of Joshua to stop the sun in his course. That was done but once, and if it pleased Divine Goodness to allow that miracle again, it could be upon no more important affair than that which now demands our earnest consideration. Hear but the enumeration of a few of them.

Neither Congress nor any of the States can grant any title of nobility.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.

So that, a man born in any one State has the privilege of changing his residence and becoming a citizen of any other State. Not only so, but the exile from foreign lands, becoming naturalized, has the same right of citizenship in any one of the States of this widely extended country. Where before, in the history of nations, was man ever endowed with such privileges? How proud should we be of such a country! Look at California now: a foreigner by birth is our Governor, discharging well his high duties, and a native Californian next in position to him. No matter where born, or how humble his

origin, an honest man of merit can attain the highest station in the gift of our people.

Congress can make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed.

Contrast these great privileges with those granted to the people of any other land, and how great should be our pride and gratitude for those we possess.

Fellow-citizens, all those great rights which we hold for ourselves, and for unborn millions of our fellow men, all are in danger.

It is because of this danger, that on this, the birthday of the Father of his Country, we are here assembled. He was the chief builder of the magnificent temple of Freedom erected in this Western world. His principles are embodied in our Constitution. The great object of his illustrious life, after securing our Independence, was to make our Union perfect. His ambition was to benefit his countrymen and his fellow men of all nations, kindred and tongues. This Union he not only regarded as our greatest blessing, but as the great treasure house which contained them all. It was in his day that the rights of individual man were advocated and established. His great name is universally revered wherever a love of freedom inspires the breast of a patriot, or virtue is respected by man. And so it will ever be until man prefers slavery to Freedom, despotism to Liberty. So will it ever be until Americans shall prefer monarchy to Republicanism, and civil war to peaceful Union. (Applause)

Fellow-citizens of the South, this great advocate of our Constitutional Union was a Southern man. If you cherish his name, and venerate his character, cherish this our glorious Union. He fought for his whole country. It was the Union of his whole country he struggled to serve.

Fellow-citizens of the North, if you venerate his name, remember for you he fought, and with your fathers contended against royal power, against aristocracy, orders and privileges, that you might enjoy the blessings of Union.

Men of the North and South, your forefathers fought on Northern and Southern soil. The Virginia Washington was fighting in the North, and the Rhode Island Greene in Georgia and the Carolinas.

On this day it is proper, also, to call upon our adopted citizens to raise their voices with ours, in behalf of our Constitution and Union.

In the farewell address of the Father of his Country, he appealed to those who were fellow-citizens by "birth or choice" of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections.

Our Union was achieved, with our independence, by the joint counsels and joint efforts by the common dangers, sufferings and successes of citizens by birth or choice.

Countrymen of Lafayette, Montgomery, De Kalb, Kosciusko, and Pulaski, this Union was made by the efforts of your fathers joined with those of Washington and our revolutionary fathers. Millions of your countrymen will rise up and call you blessed, if you can rescue from danger what they suffered so much to establish.

Come and let us do our duty to their memories, and neither life nor death, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, things to come, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the inestimable benefits of our Union.

I confess my hopes are greater than my fears. From what I know of the politicians in California, I think there are few wicked or foolish enough to desire a dissolution of this Union.

I do not speak or feel as a party man to-day, but as one who opposed Lincoln, Douglas and Breckinridge. I would allow them to meet together and decide upon what their countrymen should do. I suppose any one of their intelligent supporters would allow John Bell to adjust our national troubles, sooner than see this Union torn asunder.

Douglas—I speak to his honor—is a strong Union man. It will be happiness to him to know his friends here are devoted to the Union.

Though opposed to the political opinions of Breckinridge I know him very well; as a patriot, and a gentlemen of fine ability, I hold him, as I have long done, in high regard.

Even his political opponents, who know Mr. Lincoln, admit he is honest and patriotic.

With all these men still alive, and on the theatre of action, who can despair of the Republic?

Beside these distinguished men there stands another, last but not least, side by side with the patriot Kentuckian, Crittenden—I mean Governor Seward. He will show his countrymen that the politician can be lost in the patriot. He "will not give up to party what was meant for mankind." He will

not suffer this Union, to be divided by the sword, nor allow his great abilities to be exerted against the interests of his country. He will prove to the world that his patriotism is as exalted and pure as his genius is great and "irrepressible." (Applause.)

Our friends in each section of the country are laboring under misapprehension of the feelings and intentions of each other.

I know our Northern people well ; they are not disunionists, nor enemies of the South. They are obstinate when struggling for a principle, as they did for the right of petition. I know that many patriotic men were misunderstood when that question was agitating Congress, as they are misunderstood to-day.

There are a few men at the North who wish for disunion—there are also a few at the South who prefer it. To such insane people I have no appeals to make. There are a few at the North who would dissolve the Union if a Slave State were admitted—there were a few at the South who wished to dissolve the Union because California came in as a Free State. Let them be pitied and forgiven ; they are principally boys ; if they stay at Jericho till their beards be grown, they will repent their folly. (Applause and laughter.)

Fellow-citizens of California, let us to-day send a cheerful message to the patriots on the other side, who will be animated to renewed hope by our conduct. Let us tell our brethren there that we came from all the States, and from all parts of the world and among us there is no feeling of treason to the Union. Let us warn those in power to act with justice, forbearance and generosity. Let us remind them that no war can come which will not find brother destroying brother, and fathers fighting against their own children. Let us remind these in the majority that their duty is to deal with justice, kindness and brotherly love. Let us remind those who are discontented, that one of our early Presidents inculcated upon his countrymen that "absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority was the vital principles of Republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism." Let us bid them, if they are dissatisfied, to come to us. We have suns shining here in glorious majesty, compared to which their brightest elsewhere "pale their ineffectual fires." We have land enough and room for all. They will come to a land of life, energy and hope. Though far away, we have not left our memories or principles behind us. The 22d of February, and the 4th of July are memorable and

glorious days on the distant Pacific coast, Let us tell them we entered into the Union to remain in it FOREVER : that we would as soon think of taking a constellation from the firmament, and bringing about universal ruin, "the wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds," as to think of suatching the star of California from the constellation that adorns our national flag. (Applause.)

California, as part of the Union—the Union consolidated by Washington—has a glorious destiny before her. She is heading the columns of civilization. Under the flag of our Union, that patriots lived to honor and died to defend, she is spreading civilization to the remotest ends of the earth. China and Japan, and the distant islands of the sea, are opening their ports to our commerce, and will, ere long, feel the benign influence of Christianity. Some of us will live to see the day when the heart cheering music of Yankee Doodle shall be heard in the palace of the Tycoon, and shall only be silenced that the songs of Zion may be sung. (Applause.)

I turn from the heart-sickening picture of what California would be, as the fragment of a once great and powerful nation. rent with civil war, oppressed by standing armies and orders of nobility, a prey to any powerful enemy, ground down by onerous taxation, overwhelmed with evils that fill the imagination with horror.

But no, it cannot be! I trust to the good sense of the American people, under the guidance of that Almighty Being who sent Washington to lead our people to liberty and union. He, without whose knowledge not even a sparrow falleth to the ground, will not allow the angry passions of man to crush the hopes of millions at home, who are inheritors of our blessings, and millions abroad, animated by our example, striving for emancipation.

We shall soon be united by iron bands, indissolubly, with the Eastern States. After a few months, the clouds, I trust, will have passed away, "in the deep bosom of the ocean buried;" and we shall be for ages to come, the most "magnificent spectacle of human happiness" ever beheld by man. (Applause.)

We shall still be a united, happy and prosperous people. Our valleys, returning rich rewards to industry, shall laugh and sing; the glad songs of peace shall be heard in the land; our commerce, under this star spangled banner, (pointing to the flag,) shall whiten every ocean: and the dying patriot, on land and sea—

"Shall look at once to Heaven and thee,
And smile to see thy splendor fly,
In triumph o'er his closing eye."

(Great Applause.)

The Chairman now introduced to the meeting the vocal association known as "The Twelve," who sang the national anthem, "America." Programmes containing this and other patriotic songs, were thrown out from the platform, and distributed among the multitude. The following is the anthem :

AMERICA.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing ;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee—
Land of the noble, free—
Thy name—I love ;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills ;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song ;
Let mortal tongues awake ;
Let all that breathe partake ;
Let rocks their silence break,—
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing ;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light ;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

The meeting joined in with the choir and at the close gave three hearty rounds of applause.

Judge LAKE being introduced, spoke as follows :

Judge Lake's Speech.

FELLOW CITIZENS :—Never has this anniversary been celebrated under circumstances so extraordinary as those under

which we are to-day called together. Heretofore, this sacred day, throughout the length and breadth of the American Union, has ever been devoted to joyful congratulations of a happy and united people, for the blessings of liberty and Union earned and bequeathed to us by him who was "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

What day more appropriate to recall the sufferings—the perils—the great deeds by and through which our liberties were achieved, and our independence secured—to speak of the wisdom of our fathers in establishing the Constitution under which we live—of the personal and individual liberty it secured and which we enjoy—to manifest the pardonable pride we feel in our rapid growth as a nation, and the respect which our greatness and power have inspired throughout the world.

These are the thoughts that were wont to gladden our hearts on this natal day—that were wont to inspire us with patriotic love for the American Union—to call forth our solemn vows to preserve that Union and the Constitution on which it rests, and to transmit them, unimpaired to our children, even as they have been handed down to us.

Far different reflections oppress us to-day. The Constitution of our great American Union, under which so many millions have lived prosperous and happy—the best Constitution ever devised by the wisdom of man for the government of a free people—is threatened with destruction.

In the midst of peace, and plenty and unexampled prosperity and freedom, discontent has assumed the proportions of open rebellion, and it may be, of successful revolution.

All this has happened so suddenly, so unexpectedly, as, for the time, to paralyze every arm and limb of the Government.

This is not the time nor place to argue against the folly and madness which rules the hour, in those States that have attempted to throw off their allegiance to the Constitution; nor to persuade them that they are flying to evils, compared to which, those of which they complain, are positive and substantial blessings. (Applause.)

When passion has exhausted itself and reason returns, if that day shall ever arrive, none will more surely realize the criminal folly of their present movements than those engaged in them.

Nor will I stop to combat the fancy, that a State has a right under the Constitution, to withdraw from the Confederacy. The mind that can seriously contend for such right, will receive

little credit for sincerity or intelligence, in the records of impartial history. (applause.)

Our purpose here to-day is to speak, so far as our numbers and character empower us to speak, for the people and State of California. And what shall we say for ourselves and for our State? And why does it become necessary for us to speak at all? And how does it happen that the loyalty of our people to the Constitution and the Union has ever been called in question? We have no grievances. We have no complaints of mis-government. Taxes do not impoverish us. Unjust laws do not oppress us. We love the Constitution—we love the Union—we love the glorious flag of our Union. (applause.) Yet, notwithstanding the undoubted loyalty of this State, it has been asserted that, in case any considerable number of the disaffected States should make good their pretensions to an independent political existence, California will also abjure her allegiance and set up for herself as a Pacific Republic. ("No never.")

We are here to-day to repel this foul slander and libel on our loyalty and our patriotism. (applause.) We are here to-day to pledge our devotion to the Constitution and to the Union—to avow our unalterable will and determination to support that Constitution and the flag of our Union under any and all circumstances, as we demand they shall protect us. We are here to avow and declare that whoever may be the Chief Executive under the Constitution—whether the man of our choice or not—we will stand by and support him and the Government, as good loyal citizens, in the constitutional discharge of the duties of his high office. (cheers.)

That these expressions may be so emphatic as not to be misunderstood *either at home or abroad*. I am instructed to submit in behalf of the Committee a series of resolutions:

[It is proper to state that Mr. Hawes the chairman of the committee is unavoidably absent from this meeting.]

RESOLUTIONS,

We, the people of the city and county of San Francisco, assembled in mass meeting, on the 22d day of February, A. D., 1861, removed as we are from the scene of our National disturbances, and representing all parts of our common country, for the purpose of expressing our devotion and firm adherence to the Federal Union, as well as our heartfelt desire for the restoration of Peace and Union to the whole country, as the

deliberate and undivided sentiment of this meeting do RESOLVE as follows :

1. That we do hereby declare our unalterable attachment to the Federal Union of the United States ; that we regard its continuance and the maintenance of our common Government as the primary object of patriotic desire, as the main pillar in the edifice of our independence, the support of our tranquility at home, and the guaranty of peace as well as our National and individual respectability and security abroad.

2. That, by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, our Government was created and established of the whole people of the United States ; that the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land. That under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, there exists no power on the part of the government of a State of the Union, or the people of a State to secede from, or in any manner to obstruct the operation of the General Government under any circumstances whatever.

3. That the people of California regarding the preservation of the Union of all the States composing our common country and the maintenance of domestic peace, as objects of the first political importance, will acquiesce in any honorable plan for the adjustment of existing differences, the security of the rights of all the States, and the re-establishment of Constitutional order where it has been disturbed, or wholly interrupted.

4. If, however, against the hopes and prayers of the country, one or more States should secede from the Union, effecting their final separation, the State of California, should and will, nevertheless, cling to the Union, with the States that adhere, and in that event, or in the happy event of restored peace and unity, she will in all good faith and loyalty recognise and discharge every obligation enjoined upon her by the Constitution of our country. That California entirely repudiates the project of a Pacific Republic as visionary, mischievous, and impossible—that wherever the Union and the Constitution are, there is the ark of our covenant ; where the flag of our Union is unfurled, there is our country.

5. *Finally, Resolved*, That the true attitude of the people of California at this time of trouble, is that of fraternal kindness towards the people of all the States, and her honor and interests alike demand of her to do all in her power to bring about harmony and re union among the people of the whole country.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted amid much enthusiasm.

"The Twelve" then sang "The Star Spangled Banner," in which the meeting enthusiastically joined. The excitement was now at its height, and no description could do justice to it. The chorus of hundreds of voices carried the hearts of the multitude by storm; continuous cheers and applause followed each verse; and at the close a succession of tremendous cheers were given for the "Union."

Col. J. B. Crockett was then introduced to the meeting and made the following address.

Col. Crockett's Speech.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Amid the gloom which surrounds our common country, and which threatens to envelope in utter darkness all that is dear to our hearts as citizens of this great Republic, it is at least some consolation to know that the 22d of February is still left to us. However much the storms may rage—however violently the political elements may be agitated—however greatly the fraternal ties which bound us together as a great and glorious people may be weakened, and even though they be sundered in twain, we can never forget, and our children's children should not be allowed to forget, that this is the natal day of that great, wise, exalted and noble Statesman, who, above all others laid the foundations of our liberty, and made us a happy prosperous and united people. On this, the anniversary of his birth, surrounded as we are with the elements of strife and discord—listening as we do with straining ears and with palpitating hearts for the fearful sounds of civil war and fraternal strife, it is eminently proper that on this the birth day of Washington, we should bow our heads in filial reverence before his great name, and seek to draw from his precepts and example fresh lessons of patriotism and of duty. Here, whilst doing homage to his memory, we should renew our fealty to the glorious Union which he founded, and to the gallant flag which is the emblem of that Union. In all civilized nations the opinions and advice of experienced, sagacious and well tried statesmen command the affectionate respect of the people. What other nation under the providence of God was ever blessed with such a counsellor as Washington? And, I regret to add, my friends, what other nation ever needed such a counsellor so much as ours in its present emergency? The great statesman of Massachusetts, who in his day was so

illustrious in his defense of the Constitution and the Union, has said in words not less true than beautiful: "The character of Washington is among the most cherished contemplations of my life. It is a fixed star in the firmament of great names, shining, without twinkling or obscuration, with clear, steady, beneficent light. It is associated and blended with all our reflections on those things which are near and dear to me. If we think of the independence of our country, we think of him whose efforts were so prominent in achieving it; if we think of the Constitution which is over us, we think of him who did so much to establish it and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, public and private, of morals without a stain, of religious feeling without intolerance, and without extravagance, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the personation of all these ideas." This is the estimate in which the character of Washington was held, by one who was himself among the most illustrious of our statesmen. It behooves us, therefore, at a time of peril like this, when our whole nation, from its centre to its circumference, is shaken with intestine broils, to ponder well the parting advice of this exalted patriot to his countrymen. When about to retire into private life, his great heart was filled with apprehensions as to the perpetuity of the Union; and in his farewell address he foreshadows, as if with the tongue of prophecy, and with an inspired wisdom, the causes which might alienate one section from another, and thus sap the foundations of the Union itself. He warns us against characterizing parties by geographical discriminations; he cautions us against sectional jealousies, and exhorts us to mutual forbearance and concessions; he portrays, as if with a pencil of light, the inestimable value of the Federal Union—its absolute necessity to our domestic quiet, to our national security and honor, to our prosperity in peace and our safety in war. He says to us, "it is of infinite moment, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."



I need not remind you how flagrantly this wise counsel has been disregarded—how wantonly we have trampled in the dust those solemn admonitions—how ignominiously we have strayed from the obvious path of patriotism and of duty.—with what criminal indifference we have watched the march of events, tending towards the dismemberment of the Union. No word of mine is needed to remind you of these lamentable, but solemn truths. Every breeze that blows from the Atlantic to the Pacific, whispers to us the evidences of our degeneracy from the high standard which Washington enjoined; every mail is freighted with sad recitals of fraternal strife; we are daily informed, not of the peaceful triumphs of science and art—of a generous rivalry in commercial enterprise—of a kindly and friendly intercourse between neighboring States and cities; but we are told of the marshaling of armies for a fratricidal war—of the secession of States—of unfurling to the breeze other flags than the stars and stripes—of acrimonious debates in our National Congress—of sectional parties and sectional strife—of open resistance to the Constitution and laws, and of threatened coercion by force and arms. These are the appalling recitals which fill our hearts with indefinable terror, and cause us to listen with bated breath and quickened pulse, for the fearful clang of arms, wielded in a fratricidal war. And is this to be the inglorious end of our once honored and much loved Union? Was it for this that Washington toiled and fought and conquered? Was it for this that Bunker Hill was drenched with the blood of patriots—that Lexington, Monmouth, and Brandywine and Yorktown have become immortal? Was it for this that Hancock, and Jefferson, and Adams, and Franklin periled their lives and pledged their sacred honor? Was it only to this ignoble end, that our revolutionary sires traversed, in mid winter, with bleeding feet, the frozen plains of New Jersey? Is our noble Declaration of Independence to be hereafter sneered at, as only the dream of some utopian philosopher? Is our boasted republic, our model form of government, to become only a mockery and a bye-word among the nations of the world? Is our national flag, which has waved over so many victorious fields, to be trampled in the dust, or be unfurled only as the standard of a divided and distracted country? Are half its stars and stripes to be erased, and its ample folds curtailed? Is it no longer to float over the ships of a great and united republic, and from the ramparts of all our forts from Maine to Texas—from Georgia to California? In other words, is our plan of government to prove a miserable

failure? Are we to be thus humiliated in the eyes of all civilized nations? Are we to be ruined in fortune and bankrupt in reputation? Are we to be plunged into civil war and suffer all its indescribable horrors? These are the momentous questions which the American people are to answer; and he who answers them lightly; who prefers his party to his country; who stickles for a dogma, when the Union is in peril; who struggles for an abstraction, at the expense of civil war; who refuses to concede anything for the sake of peace; who forgets our past history and is indifferent to our future renown and greatness, such a man, if there be any such, will commit a high crime against our common humanity, and is unworthy of the honorable title of an American citizen. The peril in which we are involved; the momentous issues to be decided by the people, are far above all mere party names and beyond the grasp of pot-house politicians. They transcend in importance, and in dignity, any political or social problem ever before presented to the civilized world. They involve questions of paramount importance not only to us individually and collectively, in our political, social and business relations, but of vast concern to the cause of humanity and freedom throughout the world; for disguise it as we may, gloss it over with whatever cunning sophistry you please, it is not to be denied that if this Union be dissolved, its broken and dishonored fragments will proclaim throughout all time, man's incapacity for self-government. If so grand a structure as this, reared at so great cost of toil and treasure, founded by great statesmen, and baptized in the blood of the purest patriots; if this splendid creation of the genius of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Henry, Jay, Hamilton and others of their kind, is now to fall to pieces of its own weight; if the glorious promise of its early days is to end in strife and civil war; if its proud columns are to be ruthlessly broken, its beautiful proportions marred; if it is so soon to crumble into ignoble dust, it will be in vain that future philosophers and statesmen will seek to erect a new temple to freedom on its ruins; oppressed nations may rise against their rulers; another Washington may bless mankind with his august presence; another Henry with his thrilling oratory, may move the hearts and nerve the arms of the multitude; but in all the long future, no other Government like this will arise to dignify, elevate and bless mankind. If any such attempt be made, the future statesman will point to the sad historic page which chronicles our downfall, and will say to his countrymen, "Man is not capable of self-government; *Ecce signum!*" If

our Government goes down, this will be the mournful epitaph inscribed upon its tomb.

In view, my fellow-citizens, of these solemn and momentous truths, we have met here on this consecrated day, hallowed with so many recollections of the past, to proclaim to the world, and especially to our countrymen, that whatever others may do—whatever sacrilegious feet may profane the temple of liberty—whatever violent hands may seek to demolish its columns—whatever suicidal act of folly rash men may do, in the madness which rules the hour, we at least are true to the Union, and will adhere to it through sunshine and through storm.

But, my friends, this Union was originally founded on a community of social and political interests. Our Constitution is the result of mutual concession and toleration. It can exist on no other principle than that of brotherly kindness and forbearance. When the Convention that framed the Constitution had completed its labors, Washington, who presided over its deliberations, was deputed to present the Constitution to Congress and the country. In performing that duty he said "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in view, that which appears to us the greatest interest to every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed upon our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid upon points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

My fellow-citizens, here was the ground work of the Constitution and the Union, and in our whole history, there has never been a period which, so imperatively as the present, demanded a liberal exercise of that "spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession" to which Washington referred. Whilst, therefore, we avow in explicit and unmistakable terms our firm devotion to the Federal Union, and our loyalty to the Constitution and laws, let us at the same time remember, that without that "spirit of amity," and "mutual deference and concession" to which I adverted, the unhappy breach which has begun, may grow wider and deeper, until at last it may engulf in a common ruin, all that we boast of as American citizens, and all that is dear to us in life. We all have a common sun, all that we boast of as American citizens, and all

that is dear to us in life. We all have a common stake in this solemn business. Let each one of us do his duty in this crisis, as he would answer to his country, his conscience and his God, and in despite of the perils which surround us, we may yet be able to say in the future with conscious pride :

"Still one great clime, in full and free defiance,
Yet rears her crest, unconquered and sublime."

(Applause.)

"The Flag of our Union" was sung by the "Twelve," and as before, the assemblage mingled their voices in the great anthem.

A letter was read from Samuel M. Wilson, Esq., who had been expected to speak on this occasion but was too ill to appear. It was as follows :

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 22, 1861.

Messrs. H. F. Teschemacher, and others, Committee of Arrangements, &c.

GENTLEMEN :—I learn from the morning papers that my name is in the programme of the Union Mass Meeting for a speech. Having been absent from my office yesterday all day, I did not receive your invitation, and at this late hour must substitute this note for the speech. Whilst I would freely, at all times, and in all places, "give expressions of loyalty and attachment to the Union and its perpetuity," upon this occasion the time will be more ably and satisfactorily occupied by the distinguished and able gentlemen who will be present with you, and address the meeting. It is to be earnestly hoped that there are but few Californians whose prayers are not most fervent for "the Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

Respectfully your obedient servant,

S. M. WILSON.

The band then played "Yankee Doodle," when after three times three cheers were given for the Union, the meeting adjourned, and forming in sections, twelve deep, marched in solid phalanx through several streets, cheering tremendously for every American flag under which they passed, and returning to the City Hall, were there disbanded.

Impromptu Meeting at the City Hall.

The ardor of patriotism, however, was not yet fully satisfied. They immediately reorganized into an impromptu meeting in front of the City Hall, where able speeches were made, amid enthusiastic cheering, by several gentlemen. Among these, Mr. Worthington, a lawyer, late from Mariposa, who being called out, said in substance :

Mr. Worthington's Speech.

The present day, fellow citizens, is the most important that has ever dawned upon Americans. Of all the hopes and prayers—of all the blood and treasure—of all the grandeur and excellence of a great and proud nation, we are assembled to sum up and reckon the amount and value. The birthday of Washington has, up to this time, been considered a great stand-point whence an American citizen might proudly survey the creation of the noblest and freest system of government that human foresight ever devised. (Applause.) It comes upon us now, and we may not tell whether upon the eastern range of the Confederacy the counsels of the "Father of his country" are heeded or forever obliterated amid the horrors of fratricidal war. The establishment of this Government, which has settled up, and made to prosper and grow great, an entire continent, has conferred imperishable honor upon the Father of the Republic ; but the day is upon us, so long predicted, when our priceless legacy is to be preserved or squandered. So far as California—the dearest bought of all the sisters of the Union—is concerned, the voice of to-day is satisfactory to every lover of the land of Washington. (Applause.) Let us be justly proud of the performance of our duty this day, and pray that upon a recurrence of this great natal day the hopes and aspirations that have just now been built up within us may be answered, and there may come an abundant harvest. God grant that when next we commemorate Washington's birthday, we may be able to say,

"Danger's troubled night is o'er,
And the star of peace returned."

(Great applause.)

Mr. Worthington's remarks, of which we have given but a synopsis, were received with great favor.

Harvey S. Brown's Speech.

While Mr. Worthington was speaking District Attorney Brown was observed in the crowd, and he was immediately surrounded by parties who wished him to speak. He declined but they were not in a mood to be put off thus, they insisted, and with good natured force presented Mr. Brown at the window just as the last named speaker closed. He said :

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS :—I have been captured by these Union men and they require me to deliver a speech ; this I cannot do to-day—my heart is too full for words, and yet I will say that you have this day performed a work—a noble work—men's work—a work in which the heart led and the head followed—a work that you may be proud of, and that your posterity will be proud of. You have solemnly proclaimed to the world that you love, revere and will obey the Constitution—that you are loyal to the General Government and will support and defend it. (Applause.) You have done more—you have crushed out that vision of madmen—a Pacific Republic—have put your iron heel upon the thorny cactus and have sent the grizzly bear howling back to the chaparral where he belongs. (Applause.) You have said no bear or cactus flag for us ; but give us the stars and stripes—the flag of Washington—that we were born under, that we have lived under, and will die under! (Applause.)

No tear blots the page of the record upon which the Recording Angel enter these, your vows. No, but there is joy upon the face of the celestial messenger—joy in heaven as among men ! (Applause.) You are happy—I am happy—everybody is happy ! And why should we not be so with God's sun shining upon us ; with the green hills about us ; with the old flag everywhere floating above and around us, and with our duty done? (Cheers.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Brown's speech, the French Guards marched up and saluted the assemblage.

Supervisor Biden was next "called out," and spoke in substance as follows :

Mr. Biden's Speech.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :—The manner of my presenee before you in the capaey of a speaker is patent to you all. I illustrate

the saying that "might makes right." [The speaker had been *forcibly* presented by the persons near the window.] After the eloquence and patriotism that has already been uttered, and has forever hallowed this day in our hearts, it would be idle to hope to add a word. I only essay—and thank God for the opportunity!—to swell the chorus of our people's universal voice in behalf of the Government which has maintained for us "the land of the free and the home of the brave." The doings of to-day—a business of more consequence than this people or this generation may ever again have a share in—will forever live in our hearts, and form a bright page in the annals of San Francisco. The grand, unanimous sentiment pronounced by our people this day in favor of the Union will be seconded throughout the State. Of all the rich freight that San Francisco has vouchsafed from her abundance, never has she prepared for her brethren East a shipment of wealth so great as has been made up on this great "steamer day" of the whole people. The wealth of the great heart of California goes out from her Golden Gate, and she bids the waters of the angry sea of national discord to divide, that she may bring safely through the Ark of our Covenant the sacred Federal compact. Have you seen a Secessionist to-day—a Pacific Republic man. [Cries of "no," "no," "no."] Do you think the pulse of California beats gratefully and proudly and regularly for the Constitution and the whole country? [Cries of "yes," "yes."] Why, fellow-citizens, of all the proud events which our city and State can boast, the work of to-day is incomparably the grandest, and will, I believe, be imperishable. [Applause.] The issues remain not with us, but we have performed a duty, and the united and solemn voice of California is formally addressed to the God of nations that He will preserve us a prosperous and united people. It is, indeed, most fit, and we may properly indulge the belief that as California in nowise precipitated the present discord, she may now exert a perceptible influence in allaying it. [Cheers.]

Fellow-citizens we have seen a celebration to-day, the sight of which has never before been given to an American citizen. The natal day of Washington had never before such significance as it possesses now. It never came in so good a time. The spirit of Washington and of '76 is wanted just here and it has pervaded San Francisco and all California this day. All classes agree, nativities and nationalities have vied in the march of patriotism. [Applause.] To lend us hope there bounds to us across the continent great and glorious news from

the mother of Washington and the mother of States. [Applause.] Virginia stands in the break. The dark clouds that of late have overshadowed our political and social horizon, divide, and we have a glimpse of Freedom's ensign, without a star erased or diminished, and can proudly boast.

"Thou art not conquered,
Beauty's ensign yet is crimson in thy cheek and on thy lip,
And death's pale flag has not advanced there."

After Mr. Biden's speech, which waked storms of applause, the Hon. R. M. Briggs of Amador county, spoke for an hour from the inspiration of the moment, without notes, and was voiciferously cheered by the large meeting which stood around him and listened with rapt attention to his eloquent words.

We regret that we cannot give even a synopsis of Mr. Briggs' speech. In a word, it was a thrilling and noble effort worthy the day and occasion.

At the close of Mr. Briggs' speech, Major Ringgold of the United States Army, proposed the toast of "The Union, now and forever," which called forth thunders of applause, as well for the giver of the sentiment as for the sentiment itself, and then the assemblage dispersed.

It is only necessary to add, in conclusion, that the demonstration was one befitting the day and the occasion which called it forth. Never in San Francisco, has a more enthusiastic and general expression been made. The people stood forth in their might, and declared in sentiments that cannot be mis-construed, their unalterable attachment to the Union of the United States.

THE

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EXISTING REVOLUTION;

ITS

CAUSES AND RESULTS.

BY

CHARLES EDWARD PICKETT.

SACRAMENTO:

1861.

1854

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PREFATORY.

IN these pages will be found much food for thought. Some will be rejected and denounced by almost all, but this proves not such false. The utterance of all great truths is thus ever treated; and the writer or speaker of them, regarded as a fool, a madman, or a knave. This has always been my fate. I mind it none, except to mourn over the ignorance and depravity of my kind, and endure that suffering such state of society inflicts upon me.

I write not for popularity, else should tell but little truth; for all genuine philosophers tell offensive truths, and are extremely unpopular in such a corrupt age and country as this.

Some of the views expressed herein—historic, prophetic, philosophic, ethnologic, and philippic—are so extreme, that they will be looked on, by many, as figurative and hyperbolic. I mean them not to be so taken; although, in translating and transcribing so many pages from the Sibylline books, errors, in detail, of course, are made. Else to be, would argue me, infallible and omniscient.

I may be charged with being blinded, by too much prejudice, in favor of the South. It matters not. For forty years have a gradually increasing, and now preponderating, portion of the people North, assailed the character and interests of those of my native section, and, also, what I deem sound principles. They have exhausted every species of literature and argument, in order to defame and injure them. Voluminous vocabularies not sufficing, they have coined words and phrases with which to calumniate them. Forced, at length, as a last resort to defend themselves, to fall back upon their reserved rights, and withdraw from so injurious a connection, they find even such measure of redress and safety denied them by their assailants; and war threatened against each and all those equal sovereignties, which shall not return, or remain attached, to the old Confederacy. Many, North and South, are earnestly appealing to this dominant party, to stay its hand of force and not imbrue it in a brother's blood. I differ with these deprecators. My voice, also, is for war. In behalf of the insulted and deep-injured South, I defy and dare these foes to combat.

In this pamphlet I point out that which the existing condition of affairs attests—the impotency of the General Government (their inferior and agent) when arrayed against the stern resolve and action of a sovereign State.

In 1832, the State of South Carolina, although at home, divided, and her action receiving little sympathy from her sisters of the South, compelled the central delegated power, with the great Jackson at its head, and backed by the sordid wishes of a unanimous North, to recede from its belligerent front, and acquiesce in almost all the measures demanded.

Unanimous now among themselves; with far more and worse grievances to complain of, and concerted with, in full, by various other States, and strong allies elsewhere, she—rejecting all overtures for another compromise—decrees the demolition of the present Union, and organization of a Confederation South.

A part of that exalted admiration the reader will find expressed for South Carolina, springs not alone from sympathy with her cause, but added to it, my love, through life, for the heroic. I am, and ever have been, a hero worshiper. The brave and virtuous revere their kind. That this gallant people should be so generally and harshly denounced, instead of highly admired and applauded, by those throughout the free States, proves true the estimate I place upon the latter. And the late refusal of the border slave States—including Tennessee—to act more promptly in defense of southern rights and honor, gives evidence, too, of the degeneracy of the mass of their inhabitants. That they shall consent, *on any terms*, to remain attached to the North, with a black Republican at the federal head, exhibits the depth of infamy to which they have fallen.

DISCOURSE.

Portentous and grand are the events of this era. A mighty revolution, involving vast interests, and deeply affecting the whole civilized world, is now progressing in our land. Already it has dismembered the Republic; and this but a lesser, among the important results ere long to follow. Not alone will many lives and fortunes fall before its devastating march, new Governments be founded, and fresh channels of trade be opened, but through and from its operations, a great re-action of sentiment regarding the fundamental organization of society, and the diverse social and political status of different orders and species of men, is destined to flow throughout Europe and America. For the happy teachings of this auspicious conflict, will be to open the eyes of all the world, to the falsehood of our Form of Government.

They will see the bitter fruits our many fallacious laws and maxims have produced. They will see contrasted in this dismembered nation, two widely variant labor systems; and marking the vast superiority of the one to the other, will then abandon preconceived false ideas and prejudices against the better. That this will be found the patriarchal and nature-ord red institution of the Southern States, all history and sociologic laws attest. Peace, happiness, contentment, and prosperity will soon there be the portion of both serf and master.

Behold their neighbors North! "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." The insanity of sin induces them to scourge themselves, Nemesis sweeps o'er their land. Utopian dreams awake from their sleep. False Prophets and Teachers receive their reward. Their millennium morn is indefinitely postponed. The day of retribution has come.

Through dark and terrible sufferings and trials, must the people there pass, as a penance for their long and much evil conduct. For that they have worshipped Mammon, the Devil and hisimps alone, must they submit to a purifying tribulation.

A satirical writer has penned the following epigrammatic epitaph upon them: "Here lies a people who lost their liberty, in striving to give freedom to negroes."

A truer would be—Here lies a people who died from excess of liberty. "The world is governed too much," is one of the falsest, among the many

false maxims, birthed out of this excess of American liberty.

The Red Republican shibboleth of Europe—"liberty, equality, and fraternity"—has been caught up and echoed by their wilder brothers here; for Black Republicans are but fully ripened Red Republicans.

This levelling cry of theirs is false; for all nature and experience proclaim, that harmonious society and good government, can alone be had, where there is inequality observed. All governments should be strong; and the few, not the many, its rulers. Caste, class, rank privilege and prerogative, where every one fills his appropriate sphere, make up the only well-conditioned social compact.

We have nearly run our race of FREEDOM, as interpreted and practiced in the so-styled Free States of this Union (or rather, should I say, of the *late* Union); and to keep from further poisoning contact, and save themselves from sharing in the calamities impending over all, which have been so rapidly rushed on by the insensate Northern party, late triumphing at the polls, is one chief cause for the more intelligent, virtuous, and conservative Slave States, to sever alliance with that section. That this fanatical crusading host, should have included in their marauding campaign, a fierce onslaught upon the Southern people and their institutions, has been most fortunate for the latter; since it gives palpable proof, sufficient to open the eyes of the masses there, to the important fact—that the ideas and intents of the preponderating North, are deeply prejudicial to their longer living under the same Government with them.

The South to itself, may and can, a bloodless *backward* revolution tread; soon radiate all its inhibited false Northern notions; consolidate its various interests, and maintain a wholesome Republican form of Government.

Not so the unvirtuous, discordant, frenzied North. Her course must be onward; to what end—read history and 'twill tell.

Appropriately here, I extract the following from the writings of George Fitzhugh, of Virginia, a man of eminent ability, and deeply philosophic order of mind. The ideas are the same as those I have been expressing the past five years:

"The Democratic party, under the banner 'the world is too much governed,' increased to the very brink of the abyss of anarchy; but that party is even practical, and pathological, and adapts its policy and its action to the circumstances and exigencies of the occasion. It recoiled when it saw the danger and the ruin ahead, and left it to Black Republicans, under the lead of Seward, Greeley, Theodore Parker, Sumner, and other distinguished anarchists, socialists, and agrarians, to plunge into that abyss, which it (the Democratic party) had so wisely avoided. It indignantly threw away its old banner, 'the world is too much governed,' when it saw mobs and revolutions the order of the day, all the institutions of society assailed, and total social disorganization imminent. This tattered and disgraceful flag, was eagerly seized on by the Black Republicans, because it exactly and fully expressed their principles, their policy, their aims, and their practices.

"For the first time in our annals, the last Presidential canvass was a battle between conservatism and anarchy; conservatism succeeded, and an administration was elected, instructed by their constituents to practice a rigid rule, and adopt, as their guide, and motto, 'the world is too little governed.'"—*De Bow's Review*, Oct. No., 1858.

It is proper, however, to add to Mr. Fitzhugh's remarks, that a certain party of so-called Democrats, still march under a strip of that same "torn, tattered, and disgraced banner;" at least did, during the late Presidential campaign. But, let this pass. The sixth day of November last (a memorable epoch) ended the lives of all the parties then existing. A few ghastly galvanized contortions, such as witnessed in the present California Legislature, and then the corpses will be buried. And as thousands who then cast their votes for Lincoln, are mourning now in sackcloth and ashes, for that, or them, most fatal error; so, I doubt not, are many of the mistaken followers of Douglas, for having aided to bring about the same results. I quarrel none with these for acting thus, because I am too well pleased at what has since happened, and is happening. No thanks to them, however, since they were but the blind instruments of fate.

The action of these two "largest liberty" parties, as brought matters to a crisis—culminated the errors of numerous generations, and stopped the march of modern bastard liberty. Henceforth the tide is reflux.

Therefore, do I look upon this revolution as of greater import than the one which severed us from Britain, or the great bloody French, inaugurated in 1789.

The following from "De Bow's Review," of July, 1858, is likewise pertinent to my theme:

"We have received from C. E. Pickett, of California, several letters advocating Southern union, and a separation from the North. We only have space to quote from one of them as follows:

"The basis, framework, and controlling influence of Northern sentiment, is Puritanism—the old Roundhead rebel refuse England, which, in that country, as well as this, has ever been an unrelentingly hard-headed, stiff-necked sect of fanatics; always preaching in favor of civil and religious liberty, yet themselves the vilest foes to all freedom of conscience and action. The worst bigots on earth, and the most of rants when having the power to exercise it, they never of the slightest conception of what constitutes true liberty, and are incapable, by nature, of giving or receiving such. Their beau ideal of government is a sort of mixed theocratic garchy, the worst ever instituted.

The original stock inhabitants of the South were Norman valiant and their adherents, with which has been intermingled some of the better sort of Celtic and Gallic blood. Born free, and inherently possessed with a knowledge of political science, these framed a government suited to their spirit and condition of their society based, as it was, upon an inferior slave substratum. Such was unsuited to the genius and addition of the people North. When the present General Government was formed, the Southern delegates, though holding some points, in the main, framed it in accordance with their ideas. Here was the first defeat of the North. Under the elder Adams, having the control of the machinery, the

latter attempted, through false and strained construction, to bend the Constitution to meet their native and original views; but such proving unpopular to a majority of the Union, they were hurled from power, the Southern school reinstated, which ever since has had the chief direction of affairs. This long continued supremacy has engendered the most bitter hatred in the bosoms of the leading disciples of the other. It rankles deep in their hearts, as now manifested; for after several futile, but fair and legitimate attempts to regain possession of affairs at the Federal Capital, they resolved upon the boldest and most Satanic sort of revenge. In part, I do not blame them for thus acting. They found that the practical application of our Democratic Republican system to their Northern society was working infinite evils, and that the only way to show its falsehood, and at the same time head off the South and get possession of the Government, or rather to destroy the fabric, was to join in with the already rapidly growing, spurious, and demoralizing largest-liberty-spirit North, and thus gain supremacy for "free democracy"—a compound of Abolitionism, Red Republicanism, Agrarianism, Socialism, and a dozen of other infernal isms of the same blood."

There will be no more compromises betwixt the belligerent sections. None ought ever to have been made. They were mere salve plasters, to soothe asperities, another truth, and shove the South to the wall. This section is blessed in having no more Henry Clays to compromise their honor and tie up their hands, that the enemy may the better assail them. Though a thousand Clays, and Jacksons too, could not stay this revolution.

Caesar M. Clay boasts that his Abolition doctrines are the clear corollaries—inevitable deductions from the arguments and antecedents of his illustrious namesake. In this he is correct. And here let me—offend whom it may—another bold truth assert, that the high intellect of this nation, sound supporters of the Constitution, and reliable defenders of Southern interest and honor, have never been found in the Whig ranks.

John Tyler, a semi-Whig, is perhaps, a solitary exception, as regards the two latter; but to his everlasting credit, that party did repudiate him.

How much for good or evil, the influence of one man! Among the scores and hundreds of Southern traitors, whether looked for on this or the other side of the Rocky Mountains, you'll find eight tenths of them claiming birth in that recreant and much disgraced eldest daughter of my native State; and chiefly so made because imbibing in their youth, the false sentiments of that untrue Southron—Henry Clay. And now another gray-haired Representative from that State, after battling a long lifetime, in concert with Clay, against the interests of his section, has been put forward by its enemies, as a last instrument to divide the Southern sentiment, and play into the hands of the Abolitionists, by gaining them time to peaceably take the reins of Government, and then throw off the mask they now are putting on, by carrying out their schemes of demoralization and conquest. There are thousands of Southrons now acclaiming for his success in concluding another, to them, disastrous compromise; who, if such proceeding shall so stay the action of the Northern tier of slave States, as to permit the induction of Lincoln to office in Washington, will shortly hence call down the curses of heaven upon his head, and make them wish he had gone to his grave along with his old Federal colleague.

But more infamous even than the names of Clay or Crittenden will be that of another, I much fear, false-hearted Kentuckian. A man destined, for generations to come, to be execrated by all honorable and patriotic people, should he fire one gun

upon his beleagnured brethren South. His name is Anderson. And it may be, that soon the proof, as now the suspicion, will force the historian's pen to place along side of him, one higher in military rank; a once honored son of old Virginia, but against whom he now threatens to draw his matricidal sword. Maryland too, seems vying with other border slave States, to place prominently upon the record of infamy the names of distinguished traitorous sons. She presents her Hicks, her Davis and her Johnson.

A truce to individual reference, since the mighty questions involved in this revolution, and pressing for a settlement, sink even great men, for the moment, unless present leaders, into insignificance. And so numerous the topics crowding upon me, am forced, in the effort to touch on many, to prepare a somewhat disconnected discourse.

The first and great prominent achievement of this glorious revolution, is its destiny to speedily dethrone that worst tyranny ever afflicting a nation—the ignorant and suicidal rule of an absolute majority of the whole populace. To point out the falsehoods in principle, and the evil practice of this popular form of Government, would fill volumes. I sum the whole, by calling attention to the bad passions and corruptions ramifying throughout society, and the now plainly perceivable result of this, the inevitable anarchy and civil war at hand. And this war cannot be averted; for it is the deterring fever stage, of a long sick body politic.

In these Free States the disease is a compound one, requiring this self cleansing from so many internal impurities, and terrible shock and bleeding wound given to the system, by reason of a forcible cleavage of the last band binding them to the South. (Since I am using Doctor terms, I shall here give the preface to my ticket voted at the late election. The physis is working well. It has already thrown the patient into fits, which are curable; but only by the usual method—phlebotomy.

"The body politic is very sick—is moribund; and since to individual patients in extremis, the bold and sensible practitioner does often minister with good effect the deadliest poisons, as a dernier remède, so I prescribe this alternative nauseous physis, to a State diseased unto death." I vote for the Lincoln electors.

We have long bragged about our liberty. The word is a misnomer; it is licentiousness—a trampling under foot of every conserving safeguard—of all protecting care and wisdom checks upon individual passions, whims, and fancies, by reason of the self-sufficiency of the mass, and inculcation of the false ideas of equality—of that spirit which induces the inferior to refuse to recognize his superior, and pay due deference to him. Hence, the brazen character is rated at higher value than the golden; hence, shams and mountebanks crowd all our intellectual professions, especially raised up a host of quacks and wind-bags, to do what only a few in any age or land are capable—make and administer law. Thank God the day for our small great men is almost over! This revolution sweeps them away, like storms the forest leaves. All hail then to its cleansing blasts!

It, too, is a levelling process; for the fool, the knave, and blackguard, so long in the ascendent, must sink erewhile to their appropriate sphere, and permit the men of intellect, of honor and refinement, to come up to their proper place. Mind, not matter; fine nerve, instead of coarse muscle,

which latter, of late years, has been so deified throughout the Free States, must henceforth rank the man. If a citizen be a good shoemaker, or carpenter, let him stick to his last and jackplane, and leave law-making to his betters—to those whose intellect and social status qualify them for this work, rather than making shoes and houses.

Our flippant writers, especially the assinine corps editorial, often assert—that because a banker, a merchant, or an artisan, has faithfully attended to his calling, and succeeded well in money making, it is *prima facie* proof he will attend well to public business, and manufacture wholesome laws. The very opposite true. The law-making and dispensing power should be vested in those few only, fitted by nature and position, to render such high service. No State can be well governed—Plato says—whose Philosophers are not its rulers, or whose rulers do not philosophize. And no country was ever rightly ruled, save by an Aristocracy; by men outside and above the mechanical or manual labor ranks, and wholly disconnected from the polluting field of traffic. Hence the necessity of a recognized Patrician order—of a titled and estated class, with the door open to their upper strata, for merit developed in the lower.

As masterly and conclusive an argument against a Democratic form of government, as ever I perused, is a world-famed book, designed, and generally thought to uphold it—De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America." This able and quite philosophic writer most clearly shows, the worse than folly for a people to institute such system; proves its degrading, leveling, and decivilizing influence, yet winds up with a declaration in its favor.

Whilst upon French authors, I will read you a chapter from one of superior genius to De Tocqueville. It is found in Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws"; a book which, since its publication, over a century since, has ranked equal to the highest emanations from the master minds of any age. Like De Tocqueville, Montesquieu, from seeing and feeling so much the evils of effete, tyrant monarchies, leans strongly to free government, though fearing the results he here so faithfully depicts. Even the great "Apostle of American Democracy," after expressing such unbounded confidence in the good sense and virtue of the people, and giving us his numerous sage and unsage maxims and advice to steer by, said we should need a revolution every twenty years, in order to purify the body politic and maintain our liberties. Perhaps had this been so, we might not now be forced into the present grand one, which is to subvert the Government. But let me hold up to your view the unflattering picture of ourselves, as so graphically painted by the author mentioned:

Of the Corruption of the Principle of Democracy.

The principle of Democracy is corrupted, not only when the spirit of equality is extinct, but likewise when they fall into a spirit of extreme equality, and when every citizen waxes to be on a level with those he has chosen. To command him. Then the people, incapable of bearing the very power, they have intruded, want to do everything of themselves—to debate for the Senate—to execute for the Magistrate, and to stry the Judges of their offices.

When this is the case, virtue can no longer subsist in the Republic. The people want to exercise the functions of the Magistrates, who cease to be revered. The deliberations of the Senate are slighted; all respect is then laid aside for the Senators; and, consequently, for old age. If there is no more

respect for old age, there will be none soon for parents; deference to husbands will be likewise thrown off, and submission to masters. This licentiousness will soon taint the mind; and the restraint of command be as fatiguing as that of obedience. Wives, children, slaves, will shake off all subjection. No longer will there be any such thing as manners, order or virtue.

The people fall into this misfortune, when those in whom they confide, desirous of concealing their own corruption, endeavor to corrupt. To prevent them from seeing their own ambition, they speak to them only of their grandeur; to conceal their own avarice, they incessantly flatter theirs.

The corruption will increase among the corrupters, and likewise among those who are already corrupted. The people will distribute the public money (and lands) among themselves, and having added the administration of affairs to their indolence, they will be for adding to their poverty the annexments of luxury, nothing but the public treasure will be able to satisfy their demands.

We must not be surprised to see their suffrages given for money. It is impossible to give a great deal to the people, without squeezing much more out of them; but to compass this, the State must be subverted. The greater the advantages they seem to derive from their liberty the nearer they draw to the critical moment of losing it. Petty tyrants arise, who have all the vices of a single tyrant. The small remains of liberty soon become unsupportable: a single tyrant starts up, and the people lose all, even the advantages of their corruption.

* * * * *

There are two sorts of corruption; one, when the people do not observe the laws; the other, when they are corrupted by the laws: an incurable evil, because it is in the very remedy itself."

Both these corruptions are ours, and but one remedy to cleanse us from them—a sanguinary chaos, and construction of a different government.

A host of talkers and writers, especially our gabbling, shallow pated editors, still cling to the delusive idea, that the leading politicians are not the true exponents of the parties they respectively represent; and that the *people* will, erewhile, arise in their majestic sovereignty, to shake these off and rectify things peaceably. Alas! for such erroneous arguments and hopes. These leaders are the representatives of public sentiment as now entertained.

True, the people will become more purified and enlightened after a time, when they will choose masters of a different stamp; (mankind everywhere are ruled by masters) but this change in the mass can be worked out only through the bloody process herein portrayed. In truth it is regarded as axiomatic—that every people have as good a government as they deserve; and that the front rank men—those clothed with official power, or wielding the popular tongue and pen, are the reflex of the governing majority. Hence, where rulers are found to be ignorant or dishonest, or the two combined, it is proof positive the major portion of the populace are so.

But sooner or later, a day of reckoning must arrive, when woe to those who shall be found occupying the high places!

Not savages alone do offer up human sacrifices, to appease their own and their offended deities' wrath, and so expiate their sins; but all nations and peoples in all ages.

Thus it ever is ordained in great evil commotions, such as now commencing in these Free States—that all popular teachers, and, therefore, misleaders like to our editors and stump speakers; together with those in authority, and who have, for some time previously held the reins of government, are sure victims of a deceived and infuriate people. This vindictive spirit and action is proper, as it is

inevitable. For if these did wrong ignorantly, they should be punished as a warning to prevent other aspiring fools attempting that for which they are not fitted. Or, if knowingly deceiving the multitude—selfishly pandering to their ignorance and prejudices, and thus leading them astray, then should they be punished as knaves. Soon, and hardly a man who has figured in our intriguing California politics, but will lose his life, be forced to flee the land, else driven into obscurity.

History teaches, that governments alternate in a cycle—are subject to immutable and general laws; that Democracies succeed in their turn, are invariably shortlived, and come to a terrific end; the worse the longer postponed. For various causes, the people of these United States, have already upheld such bastard form, longer than ever known before. I say bastard, because, in truth, they are no forms at all; merely a sort of interregnum rig-up—a kind of temporary structure, to be used during the transition and preparatory period, to a new departure in the circle of legitimacy.

"That Government is best which lasts longest," is one, among the many wise sayings of the resplendent genius who now rules the destinies of France and Europe.

Let me, here, an American fallacy explode; in truth, a fallacy most everywhere entertained—that only in a Democratic Republican form of government, is the power fundamentally vested in and derived from the people. This is true of every government, however despotically exercised; for the mass of people, in a kingdom or estate, are always ruled in that mode their genius and fitness calls for. True, a tyrant may, by force or fraud, for a time, uphold himself and an obnoxious form; but such unnatural condition of affairs cannot last long. Hence, every Government is one of *opinion*.

Sanguinary must, of necessity, be the throes and heavings of a rich and numerous people, whilst passing through this purifying ordeal; and additional with us the cause for this, that at the same moment, a powerful and extensive nation is dismembering itself to be no more united. It is unavoidable in the settlement of the many real or fancied grievances all complain of. In our land, great wrongs must now be rectified—great principles be battled for. Society is rotten to the very core. The false Government rests upon a false foundation. It must be demolished and rebuilt upon a plan quite different. Peaceably this can never be done. Blood must flow. And to such bloody arbitrament must an early resort be had. It is inevitable. All nations have had their civil wars, and history affords no solitary example of the settlement of any great matter of variance among a people, save in this way. Providence has so ordained it from man's beginning, that the victory and maintenance of all true liberty and genuine truth, can alone be had through means of sacrificial human offerings. Sometimes a solitary individual suffices; at others, whole hecatombs are demanded. The time is at hand for a victimizing blood baptism of our land. It can no more nor longer be averted, than to stop the ebb and flow of ocean. It is the bounden effect of transpired causes. Nemesis demands her own.

The ignorant, the cowardly, and the knavish, essay to prove that these avenging ends, are the

fault of this or that man and party. It is not so. Such can only slightly change the phase, and hasten or retard the growth and fruitage of germs and seeds inherent, else planted long before. Usually more guilty of the crimes, they so furiously declaim against, are most of these arraigners of others. Such fellows turn State's evidence, as a salvo to their conscience, and to find some scapegoat on whom to saddle their share of the general sin.

Poor Bnehanan! He is so unfortunate, as to occupy the place of Louis XVI and Charles I; but fortunate in being unlike them, not a hereditary Executive; as he thus may possibly preserve his head.

If I speak harshly of persons, it is not to charge them with being the originators of false ideas and principles, nor to denounce this one for precipitating, or that one for not staying the tide of wrong; but to assail radical error, as promulgated and represented by an individual or society.

Again to the gist of my remarks; and first some general, then specific causes and results of this recently inaugurated revolution within these American States. Except myself, and some few of Irish birth, I find no speaker nor writer, in our country, ever touching upon the fundamental cause of variance between the South and North.* It is the ingrained, inherent hostility of race. The oft-made declaration about the peoples in either section being of the same lineage, is crioneous. The preponderating ruling North is Anglo-Saxon; whilst, at the South, the Norman, Celt, and Gaul, with their blood separate and intermingled, compose the major portion of the white inhabitants, and give tone to the superior and controlling sentiments of society in that quarter. These three, which are somewhat akin, can harmoniously amalgamate, and live together under the same government; because their genius and traits are much similar. Morally and physically brave, high-spirited, impulsive, ardent, and a little irascible; catholic in character, and dearly loving rational freedom, they are impatient under false restraint, and ever ready to wage war, rather than argue and quarrel too much, when conceiving themselves imposed upon. Between these and the Anglo-Saxon family, especially as represented in the New England Puritan stock, there is little sympathy and much antipathy. It has always been so. Go back to Old England, and find centuries ago, these repellanties existing. In that Kingdom, their form of government and enforced close contact, has infused their blood and cemented interests, as, at length, to have smothered the antipathies of all the numerous races—the Catholic Irish excepted. Not so upon this Continent. The Pioneers who disembarked at Plymouth Rock and Jamestown, were as widely different in character, as these nuclei of settlement assunder. And each grew up, retaining their peculiar characteristics; growing, indeed, more antithetic, by reason of inhabiting different soils and climates, pursuing different occupations, and adopting different labor systems.

* George Gordon, of San Francisco, an Englishman—a deep thinker, and a writer of great ability, has recently, in a learned and able essay through the "Bulletin," said somewhat about it. I regret that Gordon, in that production, should have been imposed upon by Yankee authority, with some false data regarding Southern society.

The original make, or rather growth of men, was from different roots. The parent stems are of origin diverse. Hence, the various types and species of the *genus*, and that innate diversity of mind, which necessitates hostility among most races, especially where equality is claimed.

Differing, as do the peoples South and North, upon this radix basis, they might still long hold together as one nation; and, perchance, as in England, eventually so much intermixed, as to render separation impossible, but for this narrow-minded, crusading, dictating bigotry, and vulgar, impertinent intermeddling of the Yankees with the local affairs of those at the South.

True, the Cavalier looked on the Roundhead as his inferior in England, and long spoke of, and treated them with contempt, the more so, that particular sect inhabiting the confines of Scotland, and of which are the Pilgrim Fathers who journeyed to America. Here, however, in the lapse of time, and from living wide apart, their ancient dislikes died out in the descendants of each, as was proved, particularly upon the part of the magnanimous Southrons, during, and long after the Revolutionary war, which had brought them together. Of the re-beginning, progress, and now culmination of this modern feud betwixt them, it is not my purpose to enter into minutely. Sufficient is it to assert—that differing so much in blood and order of civilization—they agree neither in government, religion, nor social relations. Likewise, their moneyed interests conflict—at least the North has forced a conflict, although three-fourths of all her wealth has been extracted and abstracted from the South. The widely variant nature of their slavery institutions, has been both cause and effect in this estrangement. Not an isothermal line and soil producements, as argued by Daniel Webster and many others, alone determines the extension of the Southern system, but migration of the two peoples. With, however, this reserve—that the further North the Southron goes, the fewer slaves he needs. And with this other exception—that Northerners, of whatever race, who go to Inner Southern latitudes to live, become pro-slavery in sentiment and practice. All inter-tropic and tropic bordering regions, have ever been and will always be slaveholding. Say what themselves, or others for them, to the contrary; every Spanish Republic upon this Continent is a *de facto* slave country. What else is their Peon system? A miserable subterfuge 'tis true, but much akin to the slavery of Old and New England. Central America, I believe, has abolished peonage; and so has beneficent, normal Negro slavery been abolished in Hayti and Jamaica. But mark the contrast between the past of these naturally magnificent regions, ere the mad modern ideas of liberty had laid them waste, and their present.

The better to illustrate this part of my theme, and appropriate to the whole subject-matter, I here insert my review of a speech made by Mr. Latham in the United States Senate, April last. It is from the "Evening Telegram," of June 5th.

"PHILOSOPHER PICKETT ON LATHAM'S SPEECH.

Personal prejudices, selfish rivalries, and race and sectional antagonisms so narrow men's minds as to blind them to historical and self evident truths.

Our new Senator, Latham, has recently delivered in his place, a speech of much merit; yet we find nearly the whole of the self-styled independent papers of this State, chiefly prompt

ed, I presume, by their Black Republican proclivities, assailing it in sneering and detracting language. At the same time the Democratic organs, for what reason I pretend not to say, fail to accord that need of praise it deserves. But for myself, rising above all such ignorance or mean motives, and unswayed by what I may have hitherto felt, by reason of any consciousness of the Senator's short-comings, I purpose to briefly review this speech and give a frank opinion in strict accord with its intrinsic worth.

Why I so much admire the speech, is because of the excellent style in which it is conceived, and vein of philosophy pervading it all through. It mainly treats upon that great social and political problem—the relations of capital and labor, and of the natural right of the superior man to best govern the inferior according to his judgment. True, the author advances nothing new upon these subjects, but exhibits his mind's enlargement in being able to so clearly comprehend those facts, and unfold them anew in clear, chaste and dignified language, which the greatest statesmen and philosophers of ancient and modern times have enunciated; facts, too, that all history and sociologic laws attest, and to greater or less extent plainly perceivable in the main by every person of the least reflection, in which list, however, we cannot include the vision-distorted abolition or Black-Red Republican hosts throughout our Northern States. The speech is greatly better than Mr. Seward's much boasted one it is partly in reply to, inasmuch as Mr. Latham based his argument upon fundamental truths upon irrefutable historic data, whilst the distinguished New York Senator reared his ingenious superstructure upon altogether a false foundation. The one is made luminous by a clear scientific demonstration, whilst the other is but a mass of erroneous theories and unsound reasoning, rendered plausible by that cunning Jesuitry and high sounding phraseology for which its author is so famous. *En passant* there is little of that fine rhetoric and redundant verbiage in this treatise of Mr. Latham, which before has been so frequently his fault.

I differ with both Senators as to the origin and character of this much mooted "irrepressible conflict." It is not of the nature decalred by Mr. Seward—a natural and unavoidable hostility between the slave black and free white laborers; the latter, according to his school, having the right of the question. Nor is Mr. Latham right in declaring it the dishonest work of politicians for their selfish ends. It lies deep and further back than this—it arises from the difference and antipathy of races. Centuries ago the Norman and Saxon, or Anglo-Saxon, the Cavalier and Puritan, or Roundhead, all agreed in the Motherland. The one—the superior, conqueror, and ruler of the other—has, in conjunction with the Celt, given Britain nearly all the true greatness and glory she can boast, and the other has ever hated these because of such superiority and mastery. In England the amalgamation of their blood at length quieted the feuds betwixt them, at the same time degenerating the superior. The American Colonies commencing their existence prior to this complete admixture, the two elements selected separate locations on this continent. Thus the Northern and Southern communities, widely separated by territory, grew up, each retaining its peculiar ideas and repugnance towards the other. And to this day, notwithstanding the transfusion of so much Puritan and other Anglo-Saxon element South, the original Norman stock mixed with much, and equally repellant, Celtic and Gallic blood, is in the ascendant, there giving tone to the thoughts, manners and customs of society.

Now, I pretend to say, it was not alone the commercial spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which carried to the South such large importations of Africans, nor its climate and peculiar productions which retain and multiply these slaves, but likewise the preference of the dominant race there to hold their laborers in this particular form of servitude.

When Virginia was being settled, the old feudal system still had a sort of lingering existence, and hence "proprietors" and "servants" chiefly composed the population. In time, however, the modern ideas of liberty so much prevailed as to do away with these distinctions and destroy all control over the patriarchal care of the nobility and others for the white laborers; especially so after the revolution, when privileged orders and distinctions in law being abolished, equality was proclaimed for all. The gentry, however, clinging to their ancient predilections, and indeed necessities, gladly availed themselves of the substitute presented in the Negro. Looking upon him as an inferior animal, the laws and public sentiment regarded him as property.

In the North a widely different state of affairs existed. New England was settled by the descendants of those who had been bondmen to the ancestors of the Southrons; and herein lies the true secret of so much jealousy and hate this day felt by nearly all of Yankee origin towards the Southern people. The latter too of late have been forced to hate back, by reason

of the continued provoking and gratuitous meddling by the former with them and theirs.

This offensive chapter in their history (and why should they be so much ashamed of it, seeing the progenitors of all of us were in their earlier days, slaves or robbers—my Norman ancestors famed as the boldest pirates on record,) added to that ingrained fanatical bigotry ever so manifest among them both in Old and New England, and likewise their incessant itching to interfere with other people's business, are the spurs inciting them to make the unmanly warfare they do upon the South, in order to achieve that grand d sire of their hearts—get the sole control of the General Government into their very incompetent hands.

True it is, their politicians, to hasten this event, have striven for years to fan these pre-existing and sometimes latent causes of discord, by strengthening and using such levers in every sleight of hand and artful manner, to direct their purposes. These have so long and persistently adduced false though plausible theories and showings respecting the superiority of their labor system over that of the South, as to cause many, even in the latter section, to believe them right. Mr. Latham did well, then, in citing the fact, that whilst so little conflict existed at the South between the white laboring class and the capitalists and their slaves, and none at all between the latter, there is so fierce and rapidly increasing a hostility betwixt capital and labor North, as to threaten civil commotion and an agrarian division of property ere long.

Another cause for this crusade against Southern servitude, arises from the fact of the rapidly waning faith of Christendom in their prevailing religion. Especially in New England has this infidel spirit gained ground during the present generation. Now, the human mind ever craves some sort of a religious or sentimental and emotional faith on which to expend its veneration enthusiasm. The worship of the almighty dollar—the Jupiter in a Yankee's pantheon—does not suffice them, since our humanity demands a multitude of gods to adore—hence the setting up of the Negro idol North. And here Senator Latham spoke some unnecessary words, his Scriptural references being now of no authority nor argumentative force whatever in convincing Black Republicans of their errors, since the ignorant Jesus Christ and the Bible, substituting therefor John Brown and Helper's Compendium.

I might, if choosing to analyze more closely the Senator's essay, point out certain contradictory declarations, each the result of the same summing up. In courteous phrases he charged the Senator from New York with sophistry and absurdity for ulterior demagogic ends, in dividing the States into capital and labor ones. Was it not the same spirit which prompted our wily little Senator to express such unbounded confidence in the good sense and patriotism of the people, after he had clearly indicated the contrary? He knows it to be the truth and might have said it—that the sole ligament, save a slight mercenary political one, now holding the sections together, is the monetary interests of the North, but for which William H. Seward would assuredly be elected the next President; which event, if not bringing about immediate disunion, would soon be followed by the same party gaining the ascendancy in the other branches of Government, which must *per force* effect it.

Had the people North confined their efforts to filling up the great Western domain above a certain boundary, or even striven without any hostile talk and forced settlement, to out-number the owners of black slaves, south of such a line, it would not only have proved good policy, on their part, but prevented their running an insane, and to them, fatal muck, against this order of servitude in the States where it is so interwoven with society and government, as to necessitate the extinction of the master race, in order to eradicate it. Mad as such an effort, there was some method and calculation in it, although a much mistaken one.

Reaping, as the Northrons have, for so many years, such immense revenues from the South—in fact, indirectly possessing these same Negro slaves themselves, and keeping the white folks there as overseers of them, and the plantations worked; (since these same lavish and improvident Southrons, gave them all the profits of each year,) it but whetted their dishonest, avaricious appetite to extract a greater sum from that rich region. Profoundly ignorant of the character of the domin-

ant and servile races there, and of the natural and happy relations existing between them; the hope and plan of these cormorant Vandals, these hell-hounds of Yankeeedom, was to create a war of race, caste, and class, and get each killed off in the struggle; thus leaving those fair lands for them to come into possession with their white serfs. If this was not their programme, wherefore their constant assailment of the Southern master and his Negroes; their attempts to demoralize and teach rebellion among the latter; their constant effort to sow seeds of discord between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding whites South; and, whence the wild unfounded hope of affecting anything in either of these, except that the wish was father to the thought it could be done. Nay, we are not left to the inference of such diabolical ulterior ends, as plain as this is, since some of their less discreet co-workers have boldly blabbed the design.

These people have been constantly, for years, predicting a servile insurrection South, and growth of a great Freesoil party there, composed of native non-slaveholders, and immigrants from Europe and the North. Poor fools!—or rather should I say, knaves and fools—for I repeat, that all this false thinking must have been born of the hellish wish.

And yet these villainous hypocrites, together with many fools and cowards, North and South, cry out against the present attitude of the virtuous, wise, and gallant State of South Carolina, and all others, having a common interest and danger, and conscious of the true course to pursue, for choosing to act in concert.

Glorious and magnificent sovereignty—thou of the Palmetto emblem! Small in territory, yet ever producing a brilliant galaxy of statesmen, orators, and heroes; possessing, even in these degenerate days, a whole people imbued with a lofty patriotism and virtue. Bravely has thou taken a truthful and defiant stand; from which neither the appeals of mistaken friends, nor threats, nor jeers of an infamous and coward foe, have been able to move thee. More intrepid and grand thy page will be in history, than even any once noble, but now degenerate old Mother. With crest erect and armor on, thou hast thrown thyself forward to meet the first front of the great issue, and defy to deathly combat the myrmidon hordes of the North. Proud and chivalrous State—I would I could boast thee my native land, instead of Virginia!

But soon Virginia and other hitherto Slave States, will wipe the stains from their escutcheon; though at a far more fearful cost, should they permit the installation of Lincoln at Washington. South Carolina speaks the voice of the South. If you would learn the future action of the whole fifteen Slave States, observe what her leading men say; for that, in the main, which they promulge, is truth, and it will prevail.

Let them shed one drop of that noble Carolinian blood, and instantly the whole South is in arms to avenge it. What gives this puissance—this all-controlling influence to that small and sparsely settled State; rendering her a power in the land, exceeding even that of the great Empire State of New York, with its millions of inhabitants, its numerous writers, and newspapers, and immense wealth and commerce? It lies in the superiority of race—of intellect—of virtue—of moral courage,

in having a good grievance for what she says and does; and, because of the conserving aristocratic element in her Constitution and society. The protecting and inspiring spirit of the great Calhoun—the noblest man, and greatest Statesman America has produced—hovers over that life long cherished land of his affection, and counsels all its sons and daughters to high enterprise and patriotic heroism.

The shades of her glorious revolutionary sires, are watching and urging them on to emulate the deeds of their days. That many of her citizens should then have remained faithful to the British Crown, is not surprising; having, like all the other Southern Colonies, so little cause of complaint against the Mother Country. But whilst all are “rebels,” there are no Tories now in South Carolina.

And yet there is talk of “subduing” such a proud and warlike people. Why I’ll engage to let the whole of New England encounter that State single handed, and yet fail to conquer her.

Something here upon this doctrine of coercion, about which so many words are wasted. Strange to hear a solitary American, especially of Southern birth and breeding, declare in favor of forcing a State to stay in the Union; when not alone the compact of Confederation, and after declaration of the Fathers who formed it, maintained it was a free-love tie, and for the common defence and other mutual betterment, that should hold them as a unit; but the very genius of Republicanism declares that equal co-States can alone be held together in this wise.

The aggregating and cohesive principle of such compact, is very simple, and easily explained. Each State which joined this Confederacy, was actuated solely by the selfish motive of benefiting herself; precisely the same which prompts an individual to enter into a co-partnership. After joining, then, of course, the interest of all the others becomes the interest of each. When, however, a State conceives its rights so much infringed upon by a portion of, or all the rest, as to render the blessings of the Union less to her than the evil it inflicts; and she, after exhausting every effort to right herself, despairs of redress from her sisters, then is it her bounden right and duty to sever connection with them. States thus held together by the bonds of equality, reciprocity, and affection, make the strongest government on earth. But let this attracting and cementing force be counterpoised, when not only is it the weakest, but soon the centrifugal force predominates, and off fly the component parts in asteroid orbits. That States are now found projected from the Federal sphere, is proof of such propulsion by legitimate causes.

Here what Montesquieu says about “coercion”:

“It is contrary to the nature of things; that, in a confederate government, one State should make any conquest over another, as in our days, we have seen in Switzerland. In mixed confederate republics, where the association is between small republics, and small monarchies, this is not so absurd.”

And listen to this from the distinguished British historian, Macaulay, who refers to what tyrants term “rebellion,” even in countries where the government is sole and absolute; not a co-equal sovereignty, like South Carolina.

“It is very well to talk of confronting sedition boldly, and of enforcing the law against those who would disturb the public peace. No doubt, a tumult caused by a local and temporary

irritation, ought to be suppressed with promptitude and vigor. * * * But woe to the government which cannot distinguish between a nation and a mob! Woe to the government which thinks that a great, a steady, a long-continued movement of the public mind, is to be stopped like a street riot! This error has been thrice fatal to the great House of Bourbon.

But of what avail these wisdom precepts and friendly warnings of the illustrious dead or living? Our people no longer heed the voices of the wise and good. The scheming, selfish, ignorant politician, and pusillanimous editor, are now their chosen leaders and instructors.

Of all renegades to principle; of all traitors to their native land; of all ingrates to this, their adopted home, are those false-hearted Irish, who are prompting, aiding and abetting the hosts of Abolitionists North, and the handful of Tories South, in coercive measures against a Southern seceding State. Why the very doctrine these separating States maintain, is that which Ireland has for years been preaching, and striving to enlist the sympathies and support of Christendom, in order to get released from their enforced, hated British thralldom and connection.

And as the Irish are a dissimilar race, occupying a country to themselves, and demanding separation, I have ever advocated their right to this, although well aware that the real grievances of the South against the North, are a hundred fold worse than those of Ireland against Britain.

It is recognised, indeed, even in monarchical Europe at this day, that a people have the inalienable right to choose and alter their form of Government, and elect their National Status.

All this, however, these pretended *par excellence* liberty-lovers North deny to the Southern states, and threaten to uphold their opinions by force of arms. Let them try this at their peril. There is an oft-repeated, stereotyped sneering phrase of late, about States "seceding on paper." But whilst forts and arsenals, and navy yards and mints, and revenue cutters have been taken, and guns fired into their hostile ranks, by these same paper seceding States, I notice that all the coercion and war their opponents have as yet made in return, consists in thundering broadsides of wordy threats, and terrific fighting—on paper.

I mistake—there have been several splendid feats of arms performed by the Federal forces; that famous *ruse de guerre*—the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, and masterly retreat of the grand army, one mile into Fort Sumter, which so delights all Yankeeism, and their valiant allies elsewhere.

Then, too, look at those noble achievements, the spiking of cannon, and burning of gun-carriages in two or three forts South.

The last ligament which held the hostile sections together, has been severed. 'Twas Northern hands and voices chiefly did it. The deed's their own.

In truth, the Northern people, as a body, never had any love for the Union—leastwise, not that honorable, unselfish, and exalted love for, and pride in it, as those South long felt.* Almost the

whole sentiment which swayed them in the matter, was a mixture of the vainglorious and a vulgar mercenary. They have ever calculated its value in dollars and cents; and imagining the South to be governed by the same base motive, had cyphered it out to their own satisfaction, that that section, when coming to count the pecuniary cost, in addition to the other fear, these cowardly braggarts fancied their bombastic threats had raised in their bosoms, they would, upon no provocation, decide to take so serious a step. Hence their frequent sneers of late, that the South "could not be kicked out of the Union." To their sorrow, though, they find the South has at length been kicked out of the Union; at the same time the Union kicked to pieces. Yes! Jeher waxed so fat and saucy, he needs must kick. Worse than a stall-fed vicious Ass, he kicked the hand that took care of and fed him. Deluded fools! As a Southerner born, I would willingly return their hate, had they manhood enough about them to excite such feeling; as it is, they are even beneath contempt. How idle, nay hypocritical, all this blatant bawling—this whining cant about "the glorious Union!" "Hosannah to the mighty Union!" "We are for the Union!" "God save the Union!" "The Union—it must and shall be preserved!" coming from the mouths of all such fellows, when their every act gives evidence of the contrary.*

Had they listened to the precepts, and followed the example of such men among them as O'Connor, Brady, Dickenson, and Cushing, instead of Seward, Douglas, Forney, Greeley and the like, they had not then brought this great evil upon themselves.

Men who cannot or will not see the justification and necessity of the South separating herself at all hazards from the North—contending as they do, that she has no just cause for it—should remember a self-evident truism; a fact recognized as axiomatic—that no people ever seek this last resort—the *ultima ratio regum*, unless most grievously wronged, and not until exhausting, and losing all hope in

assailment of their character and rights, by so many in the other section, has been, during a few years past, begetting a feeling of indifference, and finally dislike towards the General Government, which held them in communion with enemies instead of friends. The election of Lincoln, forced suddenly all this latent and maturing dislike and apprehension in the Southern bosom, to produce the fruit we now behold. The respect and love once entertained for the common head and bond, has been displaced by hate. The old national pride and idea is dead, and in its stead, a new born one arises. No concessions the North may now make, can ever restore our ancient status. The Southern mind is bent upon a different purpose. A Government to themselves, is what they feel the Fates decree them.

* In keeping with such conduct was the late "Union demonstration," the 22d of February, by these same Southern-hating Abolitionists. It is to be regretted, that many clever people, mostly of foreign birth, were bankrolled into aiding that class of men to desecrate such day. So far as I have learned, no Southerner-reared, except a few renegades of Black Republican proclivities, had ought to do with the ceremonies. Such as hail from Washington's own State and section, and most revere his memory, kept furthest aloof and silent. I was born and reared in a county adjoining the one in which is Mount Vernon; went to school within eight miles of that sacred shrine; often visited the place; sat beside the tomb of the illustrious man whom all the world does love and reverence more than these very hypocrites themselves. They, in their hearts his memory detest, because he was a Southerner. And yet these knaves, for the vilest of selfish motives, pretend to greatly admire him, and denounce me, who studied his history and character, and imbibed high purpose in boyhood days, amid those scenes so hallowed by his home-life, and exercise of private virtues, as a renegade to principle and to my country.

* It is this widely differing kind of patriotism in the peoples of either section, and mistake the Northerners make in judging Southerners by themselves, which so deceives them, as to the meaning of the movement South. Had they ever comprehended, that the latter's devotion to, and paramount prompting to uphold the late confederation, was a pure heart sentiment, then would they know somewhat the nature of the revulsion now taking place in their opinions. The long continued

the efficacy of other measures. And of this wrong and its remedy, the complaining party is of right and necessity the sole judge.

What worse than nonsense, therefore, to attribute this grand movement South to trivial and transient wrongs, or to personal ambition and spleen.

No! it is among the numerous other vital inducements upon the part of the true men of the South to cut loose from the leprous contact of the foulest blotch in Christendom, that they may stop this deeply injuring evil communication with the masses of that section. Why, there is enough of political, social, and trade morals corruption in the Northern States to inoculate and spread pollution throughout the world, though its peoples were as pure as Eve and Adam when first placed in Eden. It is a land in which cowardice and treachery are exalted as virtues; where principles are bartered for place and poll; where all high manhood is scouted at, and where the women, by a natural law impelling them, have become so disgusted with the pusillanimity of the other sex, as to unsex themselves in order to perform the part of men.

Already their foul influence and touch at the seat of the Federal Government, and that New York system of political chicanery, which has percolated all through the Union, to greater or less extent, save in South Carolina alone, has much tainted many Southern politicians, and thereby lowered the dignity of that once undefiled and proud section.

And I now declare, as for ten years past have been declaring, that it was the teachings and persuasion of the Northern Democracy and Whigs, too, and efforts of office seekers South to keep in harmony with them, and thus secure the reins of Government and the offices, which more than anything else, has tended to lessen the standard of Southern morals—to cause Northern people to cease their once high deference to Southern, and which has mistified and misled the people everywhere, as to the true issues before the country.

The recent action of most of the leaders of these pretended Northern friends of the South, proves my previous estimates of their character correct. For several years they have been iterating and reiterating, that the victory of a sectional party holding the "Republican" doctrines, would not only drive the South out of the Union, but, in their opinion, justify them in such revolutionary movement. Yet what do we behold? Why, when this contingency does arise, and the South feels bound to act according to their enunciated views, instead of standing by her still, and more manfully than before opposing her assailants, themselves join with these very assailants, and as fiercely as any, denounce the present action of the Southern people, and proclaim intent to aid in whipping them into subjection to the very power that they had hitherto said the South ought, even by force of arms, to oppose. It must soon be tested, whether the rank and file within those States, sanction this latter conduct of these treacherous leaders.

But let me leave for grander, pleasanter themes, his vexatious, filthy topic. States, as well as individuals, should trust but little to outside friendships. The gods help those who help themselves. The South has been taught a useful lesson, during her misalliance with the North; has learned that he must depend upon, and have faith in herself

almost alone. A mighty change does now come over the spirit of her dream.

A magnificent vista opens to the people South; a most brilliant future awaits them. Homogeneous, as a body, and having a common interest and wish to uphold and perpetuate their servile institution, the present fifteen States there, with contiguous territory West, as far as the Pacific Ocean, will early league together, and consolidate a rich and powerful Republic. Learning wisdom from their own experience, and seeing the sad effects of a too popular and class levelling government North, they will gradually adopt the old Roman Republican system, and continue it for centuries. While the North will at once plunge into chaos and a sanguinary civil war, break up into various combinations and single States—perhaps cities, all vainly striving, for a time, to keep up a Democratic form of Government; soon, however, to find themselves under the strong rule of military Despotism.

It is chiefly the poor and more ignorant classes North; the very ones, who, mistaught and debauched by mountebank politicians and writers, are now contending for the largest liberty, will, aided and incited by certain superior, but hitherto neglected intellects, be the first to acclaim for this one man power. They will choose him as a master and protector, in preference to the far worse tyranny of that ignoble, vulgar oligarchy of more wealth, now indirectly ruling and polluting them. Moreover, this will be imperative on all, to get rid of anarchy, and secure peace and order.

To our too open portals and pressing invitation to European immigration, and the too easy and indiscriminate citizenshiping of the immense numbers (mostly of the lower orders) who have flooded the free States, is traceable an important cause of their loss of patriotism and virtue. As thus the Northern States have been denationalized, and more hastily and deeply degraded. A similar fate, though not to such degree, awaits the Southern, when their import trade is shipped directly to their own ports, unless the new Confederacy shall refuse citizenship to all strangers, except those proved meritorious; and these, by special legislative enactments. In addition to this denaturation to the *sans culotte* of other countries, let them increase their now much preferable labor basis, as rapidly as possible, by reopening immediately the African slave trade, and spread the institution westward to the Pacific ocean.* So palpably indeed, is this superior policy, that I question little, the South will thus discourage immigration, except the few of wealth, talent, taste or better manhood, who may seek a home in her inviting realm, and open wide their gates to a large inflow of slaves from Africa. In truth she has already as many free inhabitants, with their natural increase, as she needs. These now number near nine millions. Should she have four times the slaves as free men it will be none too many. Rome—imperial world conquering Rome—had this relative proportion of free and bondsmen. The classic States of Greece far more; since Athens, in her palmyest day, had but twenty thousand citi-

* Of course the leading intellects of the "Confederate States of America," will let this and other important questions of dispute among themselves, lie quiescent until all the slave States become compacted, and their Government acknowledged by other nations.

zens, ten thousand resident Foreigners, who were debarred from all participation in the Government, and four hundred thousand slaves.

For several years I have been writing letters to persons South, urging the main ideas herein advanced; counselling them to make extensive military preparation, as well for this long and clearly foreseen event of dissolution, as to develop and employ their genius for war, which is so superior in them to any people on the globe; and encourage an intendency to arms, as the sure and only road to national greatness and renown. Likewise pointed out the policy of cementing a strong league of amity and close commercial interest with France, their natural ally, especially under the dynasty of the Bonapartes. At the same time to guard against the machinations of their arch enemy and defamer Britain; over which purse-bloated and domineering, but now waning power, this French alliance, their cotton product, and warlike traits, will enable them to hold the whip handle. And yet England is no true friend of the North. They are both world-roaming, selfish, money-seekers; both great manufacturers and merchants, and eagerly contending for the trade and profits of all countries—hence are jealous rivals. This nation has, therefore, long been befogging the foolish North, in feeding the Abolition sentiment there, and encouraging encroachments upon the South, in order to effect that long darling object of her heart—a dissolution of the Union. In this, she has been serving the South. All that may prompt her, hereafter, to seek alliance with the North, will be to secure their aid, when the next grand struggle between England and France shall begin. Herein, however, will they disappointment find; for if the Southern people league with France, these, in connection with the Celts and others in that quarter, will compel the North, either to side with them, else remain neutral.

Let the States South, at once proceed to organize their government securely, and be prepared for great happenings in Europe soon, in which they may perchance become participants. Six years hence will be the eight hundredth anniversary of the battle of Hastings. I have for sometime had presentiment, that another event of a similar nature would then transpire. The modern Rome and Carthage must fight their last battle shortly. At any rate, if the fate of old Carthage be not in store for Britain, her effectness demands another invasion from the shores, and transfusion of more Norman-Gallie blood into their veins. Before the revolutionary war, the Southern Colonies of this continent, were great pets of the British crown. The way in which Virginia got the soubriquet of "Old Dominion" is proof of the high esteem in which she was held. Whence this great change—this transference of regard to the North? I'll tell you. So long as the English realm was solely ruled by the unadulterated Norman stock, her sympathies were with their chivalrous kindreds of our Southern States; but as these mixed their blood with the other and baser currents of that Kingdom; and as the degrading traffic estate came in to share the rule, so fled England's lofty character, and hence grew her disaffection for a lightened people, and liking and assimilation to an ignoble, and once, by her detested race.

Appropriately here I'll print one of the letters alluded to—the last of a series I have recently been

sending to ex-Governor Smith of Virginia, and which may possibly be published east:

"SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 28th, 1860.

Governor Smith:—Before giving the promised extracts from Lord Bacon, I wish to refute the stereotyped congratulations, so incessantly reiterated by most of our statesmen, editors, and 4th of July orators—that we, as a people, are most fortunate, and especially blessed, in having no strong nation upon this continent to molest or make us afraid. Now for years I have been as constantly asseverating the reverse; and this one of my chief grounds for disunion—that then there will exist contiguous powers to be jealous of each other, and occasionally have combat of arms.

Not Bacon alone, but all history and philosophy teach, that a people can alone preserve their virtue, their intellect and bravery, in being always prepared for, and frequently engaged in war. For too long a peace enfeebles and corrupts—the Irish and morals; whilst war re-energizes the intellect and spirit, and ex-lives great virtues. A peaceable separation of the free and slave States should not be desired. The South, however, has nothing to fear from the North, were she quadruple instead of double her own population, because the components of that section are most heterogeneous and discordant. Her best fighting men, to the eastward, are mostly Irish, and descendants of the Irish; and these must, of necessity, be allies of the South; for it is a question, we in California, where all the elements exist for observation, cannot yet determine—whether the Yankee most hates the Irish and the Catholic religion, or Southerners and their slavery institution. And, notwithstanding the Germans throughout the Northern States, mostly voted with this dominant race, at the late election, were largely instrumental in giving them their victory through the ballot box, yet, when it comes to fighting, these allies will not be with them; at any rate, not after a time, when your free-thinking, Sunday-pleasuring Teutons shall have, as beyond all peradventure they will, become embittered against the hierarchical rule and bigot tyranny of the Puritan. My only fear for the South is, that this inevitable home war of race and class at the North, will prevent their having a foe from that quarter to cross bayonets with.

And now for some Baconian wisdom. I copy from his essay—'Of the true greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.' [Omitted.]

Beyond all question, France is the most warlike, and per consequence, most powerful nation on earth at this day. Under the wise, energetic, and liberal rule of her present illustrious Emperor, who so strictly adheres to the Napoleonic military system, the French have arisen, within ten years, from a comparatively temporary inferior position, to be the arbiters of Europe.

The next most powerful people are destined soon to be, those of the Southern or slave States of this continent. These have all the elements for greatness; an obedient and contented basis of 'knee-bending' slaves; the superior and master race, high spirited, intelligent, moral, and in the main, composed of Normans, Celts and Gauls—the three best bloods in Christendom; inhabiting a region surpassing in fertility of soil, its valuable and various products, and with facilities for commerce, all other countries upon the globe. Their Territory is already immense, yet, unlimited domain, containing even greater wealth, lies contiguous to the West and South, inviting easy conquest and incorporation, whenever sought. Onward with your revolution! sever all government connection with the North, and achieve that destiny the gods decree you!

In one of my letters to Governor Smith, I showed the fallacy of the bugaboo threat about disunion bringing the Canada line—so far as losing slaves are concerned—down to the Mason and Dixon. Contending the rather, that such severance, would, after a short while, render the holding of them as safe upon the banks of the Ohio, as within the interior of Georgia. The South would not even need an extradition law for the recovery of this class of fugitives, since the people North would not then let such come among them; or if any got there, would voluntarily return them.

It seems much to trouble the Southern-bating editors all over the free States, including those in California, to find out how the South can raise the money to sustain a government of their own. Strange, indeed, if this section, which furnished not alone the major portion of the revenue which sus-

tained the General Government for all the States, but gave many millions profit to the Northern people yearly, by reason of connection, under it, with them, should not find ways and means, now they intend keeping their cash to themselves, to uphold a much less expensive structure. I think I may safely predict how a number of millions at the start will be got at. In various cities South—New Orleans, Mobile, Washington, Baltimore, Wheeling, Memphis, Louisville and St. Louis—are numbers of Abolition traitors—many of them rich. These have done their share to injure the country they inhabit, and induce the outlay of immense expense in military preparations for correcting matters. By the laws of war, or even without war, and in accordance with the practice of all civilized countries, these men should be shot or banished, and their property confiscated to the use of the State. Already the South has irregularly begun the work of expurgation; and a grand, a glorious cleaning out will soon be had in the queen emporium of the West. The Dutch took Holland, and have kept it. The Yankees took New England, and have kept it—likewise, overrun the rest of the North. The Dutch and Yankee Abolitionists crossed into the slave State of Missouri, and took possession of its chief commercial city; which, however, they will right speedily be compelled to evacuate. Let the incendiary spies and ingrates go back to where they came from, and enjoy that blissful “FREEDOM,” they so love to bawl about. The climate of the Slave States, is certainly getting too warm and unhealthy for their constitutions. The demand for krout and codfish will soon be lessened in that quarter.

It is probable, and proper too, that the South would make demand upon the North, in this great day of settlement, to pay several millions due for the value of slaves the people of that section have stolen or induced to flee from masters, but for the impoverished annihilation of their finances for years to come, consequent upon losing the rich pickings and stealings from the South. Moreover, advice and warning from these bitter enemies, is what the South cares not to listen to. Better they expend all their sympathy and solicitous language, in favor of the North, where it is much more needed. The Southern people mean henceforth to think and act for themselves; above all else, are determined to have no more Yankee meddling with them and theirs. Their resolve to withdraw forever from the now hated partnership with them, has been fully made. They are well able and prepared to do this honorably, and take with them their full share of assets. The South has determined to act. The argument *ad hominem*, she finds is only efficacious, in dealing with such people. It is a much more pleasing position now arrived at, after so many years of wrangling and discussion. The day for all Union-saving traitors and Miss Nancies—of selfish editors and moneygrats—of maneuvering, trading politicians, grog-shop oracles, and the like, is now nearly over. The South, as a last resort to defend its assailed honor and its rights, has drawn the sword. It will not be sheathed until a final settlement be had. This simplifies the question. The long pent wrath of a much abused and slandered people, has, at length, burst forth. Growing more infuriate and united in the extremest South, its surging and overwhelming wave rolls fiercely towards the North. There is a thirst for blood abroad throughout the

Southern States. Naught else can cool the burning fever of their hearts, and appease their appetite. This angry billow will soon madly dash against the boundary of the free States. The best exertion of the leaders South may be unable to stay it there. But soon discipline, and obedience to superiors and chosen chiefs, will be recognized. A few heads now must guide and govern; and this achieved, among the many blessings of war—that only through such bloody process, are the master moods made known. Only in times which try the souls, of the then mad passionate, else frightened and impotent mortals, are revealed to them the men-gods among them—the wisest and the best. These, by heaven's ordainment and man's indorsement, then assume command.

In the first boil and whirl of revolutions, many false leaders arise; but as its troubled waters onward roll, these counterfeits give place to the genuine. California is destined to be soon plunged into an “all at sea” condition; when and where, for a season, only quacks and shams will be employed, or permitted to administer their nostrums to a much deceived and sickened people. Let these knaves and asses practice for awhile; history tells us what will be their fate.

Some speak of the secession of this State from the Union; others, that in the event of secession of a portion or the whole of the slave States, we shall remain attached to the “Great West and North.” All these are idle expressions. By the 4th of the coming March, or very soon thereafter, this confederation of thirty-three independent sovereignties, will be dissolved, each thereby thrown off to itself. Yes! those Capitoline halls in Washington, will soon be cleared of all enemies to the land in which they are situate. From the floors of legislation, all such will be forced to flee; and along with them, that ribald crowd of echoers of what they say, now thronging the galleries above. It is so written in the book of Fate, hence they who now oppose disunion, war against the fiat of God. The heavens and the earth declare the deed be done. All remedial measures to stave off the day of dissolution, will prove of no avail. The fulfilment time has come.

New combinations will then be made; but rest assured that the Pacific States and Territories, will not attach themselves to any governments east of the Rocky Mountains. Our destiny upon this coast will soon be altogether in our own hands, and must be worked out through many blunders and much sad suffering. By way of interlude, I will here insert copies of some other letters, awhile back sent East:

“SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 18th, 1860.

MR. LATHAM. Dear Sir:—Presuming you will carry your scalp to Washington, and be for a short while seated in your Senatorial curule chair, I send you and the madam my greetings, congratulating you upon your safe arrival.

We have succeeded in defeating Doctor Gwin, for which *laus deo*; and now that Lincoln is elected, I feel overjoyed at carrying my two great political points.

Enclosed are a chapter of prophecies of mine, written the day of election, and published in the *Bulletin* two days after. I firmly believe they will all be soon fulfilled. Should the South, however, have grown so base and cowardly, and become so blind to its vital interests, as to permit the inauguration of an Abolition Chief-Magistrate, or any man the Electoral Colleges of the Northern States may choose to name, then do I forewarn forever the land of my nativity, and shall not cease until my death, to curse its degenerate inhabitants. Say to Southern Senators and others of that section, that the world looks for them to now show their manhood, and make good

the threats of years, also hereafter hold their peace, and, apoplexy-like, unwhiningly lick their master's chastening hand.

There is but one course for the South to pursue—instantly ARM, at every point, seize the reins of Government, and defy the North to bring Lincoln to Washington to inaugurate him. Should they fall back upon any temporizing policy such as a pitiful conspiracy to carry on the existing Government, with him or his substitute at its head, and seek to thwart the Black Republican rule, by any legal or factious action of the co-ordinate branches, then will the South at once sink beneath contempt, and lose all that sympathy and prestige she would otherwise have, by making the bold move suggested.

California, although necessarily thrown off to herself—at least in company only with other Pacific Territory—in the event of a disruption of the Confederacy, will be better off than the Southern than the other section. Two reasons for this—one, that the liberal, cosmopolitan character of an immense majority of our people will ever repudiate the rule of Yankee Roundheadism over them, and incline them to sympathize with the South; and the other, our business interests will connect us, ultimately, more with the South than the North.

You will recollect I argued this latter to your satisfaction in those rail road articles published through the *Herald* the fall of 1856, which you at first attributed to the pen of General Howard.

In the event of a grand burst up and grab for the 'common property,' you, as a true Representative of California, ought by all means to side with the South, for another weighty reason I shall now mention.

Should the South become possessed of the navy, Capitol, archives, funds, etc., she will make a fair distribution, or pay the difference for what she will be compelled to keep, and will assume her share of all indebtedness and thus we this side, will be assured of receiving our proportion of assets. Whereas, let the North clutch all such in her dishonest paw, when neither the slave States nor California will, without great difficulty, obtain a particle of their own. That section—that is the present dominant party—will then be sure to re-enact the thieving game of the Northern wing of the Methodist Church when that great sect split up.

Very respectfully, etc.

CHAS. E. PICKETT.

HON. M. S. LATHAM, U. S. S., Washington."

"SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 18th, 1860.

HON. M. S. LATHAM, U. S. SENATE, WASHINGTON;—"Now by St. Paul the work goes bravely on." The Southern lion at length galled past endurance, has been aroused from his lair. As yet he has given a few roars only, and lashed in anger but little his sides; sufficient, however, it doth appear, to send the hitherto snarling, snapping, budgering packs of Northern coyotes and hyenas, slinking and yelping away to their holes. Soon will these miserable, famishing beasts commence to rend each other.

I sent you a letter a month ago. Ponder well my words therein, and act the part suggested. would you be found upon the side of the Victors and the Right, and best serve your adopted section. No timorous nor trimming action will serve your purpose now. Throw yourself boldly into the current, and struggle to reach that goal, whither your own good sense must tell you the reactionary movement tends.

The polluting reign of Yankeeism upon this Continent is over! If any kin to that band of bigots, whose first advent to the American shore, was in the Mayflower, then deny it at once, as so many thousands, who now boast of it, will ere while be fain to do. Read my prophecies respecting the fate of this execrable race, and take warning as to the course you shall pursue. Inclosed I send some of their recent threatenings of yourself. *The Morning Call* editor intimates that your property and life will be endangered should you not side with the Abolitionists. Poor fool! he does not foresee that it is his own and confreres' necks an avenging people may soon stretch.

To business, however, as these revolutionary results are governed by fixed laws, and therefore my writing to you about them, will not in the slightest alter. I act but the part of a friend of truth, to our common country, and to yourself, in essaying to aid you in steering safely through the breakers, now roaring around us all.

Since, as I believe, the time has come, long foreseen by others, as well as by myself, when a separation of the slave and non-slave States must be had, the present Representatives in Congress from the Pacific Slope, are placed in a most delicate and important position. If a clear-sighted political economist, your path of policy and duty is to your plain. Our every interest lying with the ere long to be formed, and proudly victorious, Southern Confederacy, you should cast all your votes, words, and other influence into their scale. Since California will not for a few years yet adopt the slavery institution, we cannot, of course, become incorporated with them. Hence it is important to us, the settlement of the boundaries of the dis-

membered sections. The following, I presume, will be the demarcation limits dictated by the South. The line now separating the slave and free States from the Atlantic to the North West corner of the State of Mississippi thence due West to the summit of the Rocky Mountains thence down said summit to the head waters of the Gila, thence down this stream and the Colorado to the Gulf of California. *The South will doubtless contend for the peninsula of Lower California.* And herein, apart from that intimate political, social and commercial intercourse, we must soon have with such a section, the policy of our Representatives in contending and sustaining Southern men and measures. They I repeat will claim Southern California upon the grounds of contiguity. But we can have it generously yielded to us, should you in Congress from this State, take the initiative of acting bright towards them; and your constituents, as soon beyond all doubt we shall, back up your acts and pledges.

Let me again suggest that you lose rather than gain for yourself and the State you represent, by any timid inaction, or mediatorial efforts to propitiate all parties. True, a bold move in favor of the South and right, will for a time, subject you to much bitter assailing here; but in the end, we triumph, and shall have the satisfaction of witnessing the deceived multitude swing up these fools and knaves who now threaten us. Californians will soon open wide their eyes to the suicidal action of the Black Republican and all others who assail the South, as do almost all the editors on the coast, and will then become their own avenging instruments. 'Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.' Never anxious so applicable as this, to the action of the people North. They have proved themselves to be more foolish than the boy who killed the goose which laid the golden egg. Fremont alone have they long tried to kill, and eventually driven off the rich-yielding Southern goose which laid so many golden eggs in their nest, but, fully forewarned, deliberately voted to dismember this great Confederacy, and bring other and nonnumbered evils upon themselves. If wise, we now have it in our power upon this coast, to profit much from the fatal errors committed by the people in the free States, east of the Rocky Mountain. Not in the compass of a letter can I unfold the vast benefits in store for us should we early proclaim adhesion to the Southern cause.

In conclusion, let me once again impress upon you the deep importance of your present action. If at all gifted with statesman views, I shall doubt none the course you will pursue.

With kindly regards, your obt. s't.

CHAS. E. PICKETT.

P. S. Show my letters to the other Congressional Representatives from this coast. You may possibly deem them too harsh. The times, however, call for such. Certainly all that class of men at the North, who for so many years have been gratuitously assailing the South, ought not to object to a retort of language in kind, seeing our side has the grievance; and it is not so reprehensible in southerners now to blackguard back, since they are also ready to back up their words with a fight.

P."

"SAN FRANCISCO, Jan'y 6th, 1861.

DEAR SIR:—The times and the people are at length marching up to my picket guard position. The glorious Revolution, I so long have prayed for, and essayed, to hurry on, has at length arrived. For some weeks past I have been sending a series of letters to ex-Governor Smith of Virginia, intended for publication. I hope he has had them printed. Inquire about it, should he not make them public.

The last news from the Southern States, gives evidence of a serious division among the equally devoted defenders of our native section's best interests and honor. It is, whether any of the States shall separately secede, or stay in the Union and maintain their rights by force. How easy the solution of this great question if there be sagacity and nerve sufficient at the South, especially in Maryland and Virginia. For if these and other of the quieter slave States but do what all history and the vital necessity of the moment counsels, then even South Carolina would not think of separate action in withdrawing. It is to boldly seize the Government before the 4th of March: and since the idea of a longer connection with the North, on any terms, must seem, by now, preposterous to every thinking man in the South, then call upon each free State to send a commission to Washington to arrange for distribution of the debts and assets, and division of the Territory. Should this plan be not adopted, and that section prove so timid and short-sighted as to permit the inauguration of Lincoln within its limits, then will commence to rage a civil war throughout the South, and upon the side of the submissionists and traitors, will be brought to bear all the power of the General Government. But let an 18th of Brumaire be the resolve and deed of the true Southrons—running off all the Abolition Congressmen and others of their ranks and sympathizers about the Capitol,

at the bayonet's point; then at once the South unites as one man, and forces the people North into chaos and a bloody war among themselves. Why should there be hesitancy in this only way to harmonize the South and present a united and defiant front to the enemy, especially when it requires so very few resolute men to achieve this first great step. It must be done, or forever will the people who have it in their power to thus serve themselves, be branded by the world as fools and cowards. The time has come for the whole South to act, not talk.

In the emergency arising, the South will need a temporary dictator. Who superior to Jefferson Davis, for this responsible post?

Yours, very kindly,

CHAS. E. PICKETT.

HON. C. L. SCOTT, Washington.

P. S. By every Pony, that contemptible little Abolitionist—Simonton, editor of the *Evening Bulletin*—forwards from four to six columns of a rignale of stuff, prominent through which is his vindictive hatred of Southern people, and prof and ignorance of their character and the condition of affairs there. I enclose you one of his late effusions, which is of some importance, because containing the reported conversation speech made in private to him by Mr. Seward. Such, doubtless, is correct, since it is in consonance with other equally as false outgivings of this jesuitical, but bladed leader of the Abolition army.*

Long have I been impatient for the coming of this day; believing that the South ought years ago, to have severed herself from the tainting North.— Providence, however, has ruled it for the best.— Now is the propitious day. Hitherto, Christendom was not prepared for the reactionary movements spoken of, and indorsement of the policy and principles the South will enunciate, when taking her stand as a powerful and independent nation of the earth. The time, till this, had not arrived for that great revulsion of opinion in Europe and America, regarding our popular form of government and the slavery institution, as existing in the Southern States, in Cuba and Brazil. The modern propaganda baubles are about all bursting. The sentiment of the civilized world will soon be altogether anti-republican and pro-slavery. And I utter these predictions, in face of what the great "Thunderer" of the British Press has lately said, when speaking of the results to follow Lincoln's election. "We are glad to think, that the march of slavery, and the domineering tone which its advocates were beginning to assume over freedom, have been at length arrested and silenced." "Signacious and consistent *Times*! Why this newspaper for the last few years, has been much pro-slavery in tone."

The modern, newfangled idea, as to the competency of a people to govern themselves upon a Democratic basis, originating the last century, from witnessing and suffering under the tyrannic, rotten and effete feudal monarchies of Europe, has been experienced with, to the full satisfaction of the most gallant and intelligent nation of that continent. But after several brief and troublous trials, given over as a worse than chimera; and now that people are living contentedly, prosperously, and happily, under the Imperial scepter of an autocrat. Mark the result of the "experiment" (falsely so termed, for the elder civilization often tried it, to several nations' sorrow) in the Spanish Republics

of this continent, whose mongrel peoples are too ignorant and demoralized to abandon further effort in such direction. We too are almost through a peaceable trying of the experiment, after having, for various causes, needless now to mention, kept the government going smoothly, longer than any of its free form ever lasted.

That spirit which freed the serfs in western Europe, and was gradually educated to the advocacy of these largest liberty, fraternizing, and social government dogmas, at length so widened its sympathies, as to include all nations and races in its humanitarian efforts. Thus the enslaved negroes of the British West Indies, became, in time, fit subjects for the kind-hearted but mistaken zeal of English abolitionists; who, backed by the scheming interests of the East India Company, soon raised such a furor, as compelled that government, against the judgment of its wisest statesmen, to manumit them; and, per consequence, spread ruin o'er those beautiful isles. It has been a favorite theory of mine for years, that about the present period, Great Britain would re-enslave those Negroes; France re-enslave the Haytian island and put the darkies there, again in bondage, else the people of this Republic would do it for them. France and Britain will however, soon thus act.

This false sentiment against negro slavery, was near the same time wafted over to New England, where, owing to the inborn hate, jealousy, and envy of their superiors—the Santhrone—who cherished the institution, it soon rooted itself, and assumed a tenfold worse fury than ever manifested in the Motherland. From thence it spread over all the other Northern States, and even much into some of the Southern. But now the surging wave is stayed—the false, most false tide turned.

O, the sad error of Christendom in these later days! this very false idea of freedom, which demanded the abolishment of serfdom—the entire unloosing of hereditary bondsmen. For what has been the fruit? Are there any the less or happier slaves? Has more freedom to the mass established better government—more purified and exalted man? No! The multitude still are slaves; aye, worse treated and more suffering slaves than ever; since, instead of having men of superior intellect and virtue—born noblemen—for masters, and whose enlightened care, they would be well used, watched over, their marital and procreating relations looked to, and elsewhere kept from harming themselves and others, they are now but the serfs of exacting, harsh-treating, ignoble taskmasters—of mere money-making capitalists, who for the least pittance possible, will work their muscle system to its utmost bearance, and when not needed for the day, or worn out with toil, the man, his wife and children are turned out to steal, to beg, or starve. Already the long suffering and uncared for poor of portions of Europe and America, are demanding to be regimented and reserved. What else do the theories and societies of our socialist philosophers amount to but this? Charlatans as are they are, mark the number of their deluded followers. By-and-by, the rightful Lords will be called upon to take charge of these now outcast, helpless serfs—these poor tramped on, starving "mudsills." At the same time, these equally suffering genuine Lords, now shoved aside by the vulgarian Dollarocrat, will be made happy too in such relation.

* Since preparing this discourse I perceive that the French and English, after compelling the Chinese Emperor to grant all that they had previously demanded, added several new articles to the late treaty with him; among them, the permission to carry on the *slave trade* from that country. Now these and other hypocrites, who denounce the Americans, Spaniards and Brazilians, for sustaining the far more natural and humane African slave trade, and their system of servitude, are in reality sneaking back themselves to this same trade and system, through the stepping-stone of Coolismism.

About three years ago, I published some matter, deprecating the proposed emancipation of the serfs in Russia; predicting danger of the Czar's assassination, and of revolution throughout that empire, consequent upon such procedure. I perceive that the amiable, but not otherwise Emperor Alexander, still persists in this mad scheme. If not precipitating things too far, the herein foreshadowed good results of our revolution, will induce a wholesome reactionary movement there, upon this subject.

The grand mistake made by so many sociologic and political writers, and by our pseudo-statesmen, is, in regarding man as an isolate free agent; whereas, he *belongs* to a society. We are gregarious, the same as ants and bees, or monkeys and horses, in a wild state. To live in communities, where each shall fill his rightful place, and perform the duties appertaining, is God's decree. If one fail to do his part, he injuriously affects the whole. Hence—since the great majority of mankind are ignorant, and mostly swayed by vicious, else narrow selfish motives—the grand necessity of the superior few, for the good of all, to be clothed with power to enforce strict laws and regulations. The best government for man, is one patterned after the family—a patriarchal autocracy. A few years hence must California thus be ruled; likewise her fundamental law will recognize the beneficent and civilizing slavery system; putting in bonds at least, the dark skin human species.

Truthfully has it been written, that a high state of civilization, is an advancement to barbarism; if the spurious civilization of our miscalled free States, in this confederacy, be taken as a type. Here liberty, in its modern, or rather Yankee acceptance, has run society wild. Its excesses and licentiousness is rapidly retrograding the populace towards that species of barbarism in which will be found all the vices of the civilized man, and none of the virtues of the savage.

It is folly for the superior white races to strive longer to elevate and make their equals, the masses of this Puritan stock and their proselytes. They are too grovelling in their instincts; and besides, like beggars on horse-back, will ride over their betters, when permitted to ascend from that position the God of nature designed them to occupy. And not content to do this themselves, they must lovingly consort with, and contend for taking with them, side by side, all the Indians, Arabs, Hindoos, Kanakas, Ethiopians and other dark-hued bimana especially affecting great sympathy and predilection for the smell, form, color, and mental attributes of the ebony Congos, enslaved in our Southern States.

A just retribution has now overtaken these people. They are beginning to reap a full and rare ripe harvest of evils. Their insensate cry and false application of the words "free" and "freedom," together with the whole of their demagogical teachings, is about producing a fearful, yet natural and inevitable end.

Not content to leave to legitimate or self-operating causes South, the fulfillment of their terrible prophecies regarding the conflict of slaves and masters in that section, they have striven by every infernal act and damnable scheme, to precipitate such issue.

In vain the dominant race there begged to be let alone. In vain they argued and proved that all this outside sympathy for the serviles, was er-

roneous and uncalled for. In vain they predicted, and gave reasons for the warning—that in their own land were the elements for a bloody war of race and class. In vain a few sound thinkers among themselves, raised high their voices, to reiterate all the Southrons told them. In vain the signs and portents on every hand, proclaimed that they approached a precipice and yawning gulf. They heeded none all these, but madly rushed to meet their fate. Already you read somewhat of this, though hardly an inkling yet is given of the terrible story ere long to be told.

Here have I intimated somewhat of it in advance. Though many may have perused this matter before, yet, since there are whole volumes of wisdom, of truth, and deep meaning, condensed in a small space, they will learn much that is useful and not seen before, though read and reread a dozen times over. The first article was penned the sixth day of November, and handed to the *Bulletin* editor, who published it two days thereafter:

"Tuesday, the 6th day of November, 1860, is destined to be a memorable epoch in the annals of American history, should a preponderance of the popular voice declare the election of Lincoln. May the good geni which guard my native section have so induced the Fates to decree! I believe that this representative of everything that is false and foul in economic, sociologic, governmental and religious affairs—of all that is inimical and dangerous to Southern interests and honor, (save the treason and cowardice among themselves) will triumph at the polls. To hasten the progress of events, and bring matters to a crisis, I have cast my ballot for the Black Republican Presidential nominee.

In voting for Lincoln, I have voted to inaugurate an auspicious revolution; have voted for the destruction of the infamous and subverting despotism of the ballot-box, and substitution of the better virtue and freedom-protecting cartridge-box; have voted for the downfall of that most fallacious, short lived and corrupting of all forms of government, a Democratic Republicanism and for the advance step towards that best and most natural one, an autocracy.

I have voted in favor of the true chivalry of the South, and to put down the tyrannous reign of the false in California. I have voted to bring about that purifying stormy ordeal which shall cause the cunning money-graspers, the bully and trickstering pot-house politicians, the mountebank statesmen, windy demagogic stump speakers, and knavish and brainless writers—who now conjointly rule the State, and all public opinion shape, to sink back to their rightful sphere, and permit men of sense, of character, and of nerve, to take their place as leaders. I have voted to open a career to genius and genuine manhood—to check and partially dethrone through means of troublous war-times, that vile degrading rule of traffic; to beat back the wild bigotry, the reckless infidelity, gross levelling spirit and unprincipled agrarianism of the North, in order that the South may not alone maintain intact her superior status as a people, but so re-energise their intellect and virtues, and manly manifest their martial nature, as to render them full worthy of their heroic sires.

I have lived to witness the fruition of the hopes of years—the dawning of a millennium for my native land, albeit that gleaming ray of peace and freedom shines through a dark and bloody cloud. But a short while longer will knaves and fools be able to call me 'crazy,' because of my prophetic warnings. That these same may further exhibit their own shortsightedness, and be forced to accord to me a different character ere while, I will vaticinate in seeming rashness, somewhat else.

Lincoln, although elected, will never be inaugurated President of these now United States. The spirit of their revolutionary ancestors is being aroused all over the South. Having the right upon their side, they can, and dare, and will maintain it. For thirty years has that gallant, wise and high-toned State of South Carolina writhe with the consciousness, that she as well as all her sister slave States, were being polluted and oppressed by longer connection with the North. And what will she not now attempt, that a radical outspoken Abolitionist—a bitter hater of his native section, has been chosen President wholly by the suffrages of the hostile free States. All her best men, as also the better thinkers throughout the South will, like myself, look upon the election of Lincoln as indirectly a victory for their section; since, in consonance with the expressed idea and wish of one of the best and boldest among them, it will so arouse and prepare the public mind, as to precipitate a portion of those States into immediate revolution, and soon the

rest must follow. I repeat, that the thinking, leading, most patriotic persons South, conscious of their own strength and weakness of their Northern foes, when it comes to denier measures, will be found ready and defiant with these. Civil war is inevitable. I feel its early coming, though I apprehend but a short quasi-conflict of arms between a portion of the sections; for soon the whole South will be of one mind—a solid body of a million of armed men, ready to fiercely battle for all that is dear to civilized humans; whilst the heterogeneous North, without any good cause of grievance against the South, and having many thousands of allies of this section scattered all through them, will early be in deadly feud among themselves. Filled with ignorance, selfishness and falsehood, her vicious and discordant population will turn against each other to drench their land with blood. But for their connection with the conserving South, this calamity would long since have overtaken them.

Hark! what doleful, ominous sound falls on my ear? It is the Bell men tolling out the Union's death knell. Let the revolution come, for God will help the right!"

CHAS. E. PICKETT.

P. S.—As declared in previous writings, I believe the Southern States, with their old aristocratic element, their slavery basis, (which should bespeditly enlarged and strengthened by fresh imports from Africa—and this they will do,) their virtue and intelligence, so superior to other parts of Christendom—arising, too, from the fact that the ruling mind among them being still the chivalric Norman, Gallic and Celtic, even for generations, and as best for them, will maintain a Republican form of Government. To effectually do this, however, they must at once divorce their Union ties, and eradicate from their minds and laws every vestige of devil's doctrine imbibed from the North, since their misalliance with that ignoble section.

C. E. P.*

The two presaging and philippic chapters, below reprint'd, were written in the same month, and prior to reception of more than the first mutterings of the disastrous Eastern news, consequent upon Lincoln's election. The *Bulletin* refused to insert the first, and after some trying, eventually persuaded the *Morning Call* man to print it, which was done December 4th. He put it in his paper as a joke, but things soon after beginning to look to him serious, declined to insert the second, so I took it across the Bay to the *Alameda Gazette*, in which it appeared January 5th:

PHILOSOPHER PICKETT PROPHECIES PORTENTOUS NEWS.

Startling News from the East!—The whole Fifteen Slave States in Revolution!—Jefferson Davis declared Dictator!—Botts, Bates, the Blairs, Emerson Etheridge, Winter Davis, Henry S. Foote,† and various Editors South, Shot for Treason!—Large Numbers of others Banished and their Property Confiscated!—Immense Military Preparations!—300,000 Men Marching to Washington to prevent Lincoln's Inauguration!—The Central Military Tribunal take Possession of the General Government.—The Navy ordered into Southern Ports—Commercial Intercourse between the Sections suspended—Great Financial Crash—Banks all suspended Specie payment, and mostly failed—State Stocks unsaleable—Powerful Auxiliary Forces organizing throughout the Northern States to aid the Southern Coup d'Etat—Gov. Wise's Programme, of Battling for Supremacy within the Union, to be carried out—A Great and Bloody Conflict between Conservative Liberalism and Black Republican Roundheadism to be fought throughout the Confederacy!

The captions above, Messrs. Editors, are but anticipating what yourselves will *bona fide* be compelled to publish in your columns during the next four months. Even as now I

* The latest news from the Eastern side confirms the justness of my views respecting the man for the South in this momentous crisis. For years I have regarded Jefferson Davis as the first one in America; and looking forward to the creation of the great trust he has been called to fill, have, in various

writes, the whole has been determined on by the leading spirits South, and some of it already accomplished. How little blind talkers and foolish, flippant writers upon this coast, or in either section East, can comprehend the hundredth part of the mighty governmental and social cataclysm which already is submerging every present landmark.

The American Union, as formed by our forefathers, has ended! Chaos and a new organization is at hand!

However lightly and in *ad captivum* style I may converse upon this topic in the streets and other public places (fore-d so to do to meet the wishes, comprehension and similarly expressed contrary ideas of the shallowheads I talk to), it is of too serious and momentous import for me to jest about in print. Calmly and earnestly I pen my convictions of what ought to, and I feel most confident will be. The bold line of policy marked out for the South and her Northern allies to pursue, is one which will, beyond all question, conduct to a glorious victory. Black Republicans may outvote but not outfight the opposing ranks. None but fools or traitors of Southern birth and rearing, but know there is no alternative left this section save to arm at every point, put down all traitors at home, and defy the outside foe to cross their borders. And what worse foe did ever assail an individual or nation than that infernal sentiment which has elected Lincoln? A foe to everything that is just and true, whether in the North or the South. Against the South, however, it is a direct and positive assailment of peace, liberty, property, honor, nay, life itself! It is worse than an army of assassins, for it wars against everything there that is near and dear to man, and to fight such to the knife's blunt, even the veriest cowards on earth would be forced to do. Robbery, arson, rape and murder are but a portion of the widely proclaimed, and already much practiced, intents of this blatant Black Republican Northern host towards their 'Southern brethren.' Southern brethren, forsooth! Let them attempt to take Lincoln to Washington and find out the sort of arms with which those brethren will welcome them.

There are other headings you might even now begin to put into your news columns: such, for instance, as 'Conciliatory offerings from the Republicans;' 'Agreement to repeal the obnoxious nullifying State laws North;' 'A stop put to the under-ground Railways, and a pledge by the people North to faithfully execute the Fugitive Slave Act;' together with similar backdowns from their advanced and defiant Abolition stand-points, even to a waiver of the cardinal plank in their written platform—'No further spread of slavery.' Indeed, so friendly will they talk ere long, as they find out how much in earnest the South is; so virtuously cloak their foul designs and play for a while the insidious mild-mannered hypocrite, appealing at the same time to the shades of a common ancestry and intermingling suffering and glory of our history as one people, as to induce, I much fear, a softening of the hearts of certain timid and shortsighted Southerners, who now stand ready to battle them, and cause these to advocate the admission of the wooden horse within their otherwise impregnable walls. There are, however, too many sagacious, noble Trojans South to guard against each and every wile the Greek may choose to plan. On with the revolution! CHAS. E. PICKETT."

"TERRIBLE NEWS FROM THE NORTHERN STATES.

'Nemesis demands her own.

Aetoev devoured by his hounds.'

Sanguinary Progress of the Revolution—Lincoln, Seward, Greeley, Webb, Bryant, Lovejoy, Giddings, Garrison, Gerritt Smith, Wendell Phillips, John W. Forney, Fred. Douglas, Stephen A. Douglas, and many other Abolition leaders hung, shot, and otherwise slain by infuriate mobs of their recent partizans—Hundreds of Abolition Clergymen share the same fate, and their Churches Destroyed—Destruction of Printing Presses—State and City Governments powerless—Chaos and a conflict of arms everywhere the order of the day—People divided into numerous*

letters written eastward, and publications issued here, named him as the proper person for the place and times.

Gifted with high intellect and virtue, of unflinching firmness and so admirably combining the statesman and the soldier, he is a worthy initial head of that grand empire now nucleating around the standard upborne by him.

† For the twentieth time, about, has this most unreliable politician, recently summersalled, all of a sudden, into the ranks he had just been opposing. From giving aid and comfort to the Abolitionists, as a leader among the 'Submissionists,' he now goes over to the other side.

factions, and all fiercely assaulting each other—A bloody war of races begun—All business suspended, starvation among the poor, and thousands of desperate persons of both sexes demanding bread or blood!—Cities sacked and fired!—Agrarian doctrines openly proclaimed and practiced—Cry of down with the rich Aristocrats!—Great destruction of property!—Many seizing their moveable effects and fleeing from the country—Millions of Capital being transferred to Europe and the South, also some to California—Appeals to the South to march an Army among them to restore order and protect Property and Life!—It is done!

Again the spirit of prophecy comes over me. Once more I partially draw aside the curtain from the future. Let blind misbelievers laugh my words to scorn; such can alter none the decrees of Fate, nor induce me to think that these things, which I so plainly see, are mere hallucinations.

I am aware that almost all our population in California, ignorant as they are of government and social science, of history, and the inevitable tendency of causes—mistaking as they do effects for causes—distant from the scene of conflict East, and so wholly absorbed in the pursuit of money and in leastening their mere animal desires, will look upon these foretellings of mine as the wildest phantoms of a disordered brain; else, if considering me sane, that I am indulging a fancy for the bloody marvellous to please the wonder-loving ideas of men.

Too busily engaged, too indolent, else incapacitated to think for themselves, our people depend upon the *ipse dixit* of a venal and stupid press to tell them what now is and what is to be. Without, however, a backward glance of more than a few weeks, let these daily gulled pursuers of our public prints but note the little truth they've had served up to them regarding the important progress of the revolution in the transmontane States. Profoundly ignorant of the true condition of affairs, else for a purpose designedly deceiving readers, these writers for most of our newspapers (including their editors and correspondents) fill column after column with their affectively wise vaticinations and very learned Bunsby disquisitions upon the times, which are all proved erroneous a few days thereafter.

Take, for instance, the three great (?) papers of the State—the *Alt*, *Bulletin*, and *Sacramento Union*—and mark as the mail arrives, how much their comments upon each new batch of news does vary from the preceding. In truth, since the Pony Express has got to reaching here so often, and so regularly, we find these wisecracking editors undergoing, at least twice a week, a very great change of opinion. Ignorant, I repeat, of the real cause of variance betwixt the North and the South—ignorant of the nature of the people in either section, especially those South, and governed alone by the narrowest selfish sentiments, which completely blind them to the inevitable effect of plainly apparent causes, they write and print conclusions which they positively assure their readers are truths, when but only three days following, in comes the *happened* facts to prove their speculations false. And so as in the past, will these wise fools continue to print such falsehoods, and the capacious wail of the Jackass multitude will as readily devour all they have to say. One would suppose these Southern-bating, ignorant writers would get tired of this dog-like swallowing of their vomit. Not so, however, with such animals, whose whole nature, stomach and all, are of the low cur kind.

A proof of the assinine and windy character of the California press is had in their generally expressed reprehension of what nobody has intimated—a severance of this State from the Union. At the same time, whilst it is the general topic every where among our peoples as to the destiny of this Coast, in the event of a dissolution of the Confederacy, but two or three papers among us have had the manliness to publish an opinion in view of such contingency. These have declared for an independent organization, which is but stating what must of necessity be our fate.

Pardon the facetie, but so applicable the anecdotes, I must refer to them here: The Republican party is in that condition the fellow found himself who drew the elephant in a raffle; they have elected Lincoln, but don't know what to do with him. And the way our editors talk about the present political and financial storm, reminds me of the man whom Noah refused to let enter the Ark.

“On with the Revolution!” CHARLES E. PICKETT,
A Disunionist *per se*.

NOTE.—I put the name of S. A. Douglas in this list, because his doctrines, his position, and his now bitter hatred of the Southern people, are equally, if not more inimical to the interests of that section than those of the others.”

The past propitious season throughout the Free

States, which produced an extraordinarily heavy grain crop; and the reverse of this in most of the Slave States, has tended to materially affect the phase of the revolution in its beginning. For while it is inflicting some suffering at the South, the well-stored garner at the North, and European demand for produce, lessens much the first blow on them, and staves off for a time, their fierce internal strife.

You even now perceive most clearly manifested at the North, and ere long will have proved there beyond all cavil, not what “Crazy Pickett” alone has been telling you for years; but what all history teaches, and what every man of intellect should know—that a people, especially like these Northrons, wholly ruled by a commercial spirit—degraded by the ever constant pursuit of traffic and lust for gold, soon lose all virtue and high manhood, grow mean-spirited and vicious, and if not invaded and subdued by another nation, themselves plunge into a long and bloody civil war. Though apparently progressing in power, by reason of such rapid strides in wealth and population, the North has really been getting weaker and weaker the past twenty years, until now, the South, if having a mind to, could easily conquer her, discordant and debased as she is, though she had thirty-six, instead of eighteen millions of inhabitants.

The North has ever boasted about such increase and preponderance of numbers; but in this, as most things else, quality is a more important desideratum than quantity. Of course, were such a conquest attempted, the Southern armies would be supported by that body of allies North, who, equally with the Southrons, detest, in all its phases, this fiend spirit of Yankeeism. I denounce. And by the sword and sword only, can such creatures and their doctrines be put down.

They, too, have been the ones to first invoke the use of these weapons, by which they are to perish. They have created the cause for war, and first made declaration of it.

Let the shock of battle come, and damned be him who flinches!

The South will never ask for quarters, nor can she be “whipped back in the Union.”

The *London Times*, in noting the great exodus from Ireland to America, declares that upon this continent is the natural home of the Celt. If this be true, then must the Hibernian become the dominant race of a portion of the North, by subduing or exterminating the Yankees.

The Germans and the Irish cannot live peaceably together; but after the triangular battle of races shall have raged for awhile up North, these two will doubtless agree to a league to wipe out the Yankees, and divide the country between them. The Irish and others generally occupying the Eastern, and the Germans the Western. And strongly am I inclined to think that this will be the fate of those who are now intoxicated with the belief that they are the masters of America, and who have long talked so arrogantly to the Southron and the European immigrant:

“SAN FRANCISCO, Jan'y 20th, 1861.

DEAR SIR:—I read that you were chairman of a recent meeting held in New York City, composed of a number of the most talented, and the wealthiest citizens of your State, to give expression to sentiments, designed to so influence the Southern States, as would check the dissolution intent upon their part, until you could so induce the North to cease their

hostile action, as would permit the slave States remaining in peace and honor, a portion of the present Union.

The speeches of yourself, of General Dix, Mr. McKean and Mr. Dickinson, on that occasion, were in the main, most able and most truthful, except wherein you derived yourselves, by supposing there can be any such peaceful change of act and opinion at the North, as will repudiate the whole doctrine of Black Republicanism, deceptive conclusion, blurring Bellamy, and all other such false issues, without which, the Southern section cannot, ought not, and will not remain longer connected with the North.

Do not, sir, flatter yourself with the smallest hope of any amicable adjustment between these naturally antagonistic divisions of this country as at present ruled. A separation now, of the slave and free States, is inevitable. Therefore, it behooves you and others of superior minds, North, who are impatient to that infernal spirit which has forced the South to leave you, to apply all your energies in achieving a victory in the only possible path now left. You say in your speech, that the North is your birthland, and you mean not to leave it. Then learn this fact—that you must henceforth be a still more restless and deeply injured serf of Yankee masters, *else must master them*. How this to do, look to the present action of the South for an example. The people there have done with words argument. They find that talking is of no avail. They hope, the knife and bullet, are henceforth the means that they use. Would you too get rid of Puritan rule? Then, at once, arm and martial your ranks. Call to your standard all of your own blood—the Irish. Invite to my union of the trouble-brother stock, and all of other races, as may oppress these ignorant and bigot tyrants. If help you need from the outside, I doubt not an army of two hundred thousand men would march from the South to your relief.

Comprehend your speech and your position, and learn there is no alternative else than this. With the South you cannot become again connected under the same Government; but by putting down their and your enemies among you, in suppressing their newspapers, driving them from the pulpits, and taking the education of youth out of their hands, you can so much regain the friendship of the Southern people, as to induce a reciprocity of social and commercial intercourse and establish a mutually defensive foreign policy.

Yours, etc., CHAS. E. PICKETT.

CHAS. O'CONNOR, New York."

Here is a postscript I omitted to send to Mr. O'Connor:

"P. S. Five years ago, the leaders of this Roundhead Republic army, determined upon a new line of action. I sum it in few words for all concerned. It was to smother, for a time, their hatred of the resident foreign born, and hypocritically court their alliance, in order to make effective war upon the South. After subduing or exterminating the Southern, then the German and other foreign prejudices were to be appealed to, to make common cause against and put down or exterminate the Irish. This was accomplished; then comes the German's turn to be alike treated. And such is now the program arranged, to settle matters in California."

These men who have so greatly aided to induce this revolution so many deprecate, but from which themselves will be the great losers. For years have they causelessly assaulted the long suffering and forbearing South; until at length, to make her goaded, and their fortunes, lives, and honor placed in extremest jeopardy, the people of that section have been forced to take up arms to free themselves from so injurious a connection. And yet these consummate hypocrites strive by every art of jealousy and false pleading, to prove the South in error, and themselves not far from blameless. They charge upon the Southern, the very sins that only they are guilty of. All this, however, runs in their blood. It is hereditary. With individual exceptions, bigotry, intolerance, duplicity, and an interfering meddling spirit, have ever characterized the Puritan stock, as their history in England, Holland and America attests. Let not the good among and from them, be offended at the utterance of this truth (for good and noble people are the product of all nations). Jesus Christ came out of Nazareth; Plutarch was born in Boetia; so may and do proud specimens of humanity hail from New England.

Living within the limits of the fifteen slave States, are four hundred thousand persons of Northern birth; and from the days of the cavalier General Green, of old Revolutionary fame, down to the gallant Major Chase, (both of New England origin,) who now commands the largest force the Southern Confederacy has yet assembled, the South has received with open arms, and rewarded with high military and civil trusts, according to their merit, various sons of that unworthy land.

And you—O, Californians! having before your eyes the dire results of the evil acts and teachings of these people, permit them still to be your mentors and mouth-pieces. For who, save mercenary and narrow-minded graduates of the New England school, do almost solely wield that potent lever, the press, among us. And even as their ignorance, venality, vindictiveness and falsehood, have so much aided to stir up discord and force on a bloody revolution Edward, so will these same traits of character, from the commanding influential post they occupy, produce similar results upon this Western shore. The sooner you rid yourselves of such false teachers, the better in all ways for us all. Among the first acts of that wisest, best, and necessarily, despotic few, or one man, who will ere long be called to rule the multitude in these free States, will be the ousting of all these asses, wolves and hups of the Press, and establishment of a strict censorship over it. And then, out of the hundreds who have been attached to this profession in California, how many will be permitted to pen an article abetting Government affairs? Why not more than three or four; since this small number will include the whole of those who've shown the faintest comprehension of political and social science. However, these present occupants of the tripod, whose days are numbered, will all be hurled from their seats, ere these rulers be installed. How and what their fate, I will not now afflict their souls by telling.

Likewise must our youth be rescued from the poisoning imbecilities of these same description of men. The educational department is now, and long has been, almost wholly in their hands. It must be taken wholly out of them; because they teach far more that's false than true. Their rudiments are erroneous, and tend from the start, to pervert the judgment and pollute the heart. The catholic spirit of the South—of liberal minded Europeans, and of conservative Northerners, must henceforth have the control of schools. From the South, too, will hereafter be received a copious supply of philosophic and aesthetic mental food for adults, of far wholesomer and more delicate, as well as, stronger nature, than that a unhealthy mass long served out at the North, save by the very few. The library in a fleet of the South, equally superior to the North, even, as is their state manship and talent for war, has hitherto lain almost latent; with thousands of Northern pupils were deluging the earth, and poisoning much the Southern mind, with captivating, florid rhetoric, sickly, affected sentiment, and incongruous, yet opposite theories and arguments. But in this the South has been awakening the past ten years, and a power and an influence thereby exerted, which few comprehend, even among themselves. For to the efforts of bold, philosophic, and patriotic writers there, are the Southern people indebted for that union of sentiment, and sense of right and power, regarding their should be status as an independent nation, which at present animate the major

mass, and is destined to so very soon break off their entangling and deep-injuring alliance with the North.

I have spoken of the opening up of new channels of trade and thought, by reason of this altering revolution. Let me mention an important one—the change and purification of the channel of information between Europe and America. Hitherto the prejudiced and lying accounts and comments we obtained respecting European affairs, came through British medium; and the equality, or rather more false they received in Europe regarding American affairs, went through means of Yankee agency.

An almost twenty years continuous residence upon this coast, and ever a faithful and farseeing advocate of its interests, entitle and embolden me to speak my thoughts—to tell the citizens of California, that the same fell spirit of Yankeeism, which is on the eve of drenching with blood the free States East of the Rocky Mountains, and casting a long blight of mildew and sorrow over that land, is destined to bring the same evils upon this Pacific side, unless early shorn of all its power, and repressed to that condition, where it shall be impotent for harm.

Behold what their fiend hate of the South is doing for the great city of New York. Had this grand Confederacy of American States remained intact, and continued their trade relations but twenty five years longer; said Mr. Secretary Cobb, in a recent letter to the *Richmond Enquirer*, the often changing commercial metropolis of the globe, would then been transferred from London, where it so long has been, to this entrepot of the New World. And what shall be the fate of our Alladdin lamp built emporium of commerce, which with such rapid steps is covering the hills of the magnificent bay on which it lies? Mark its geographical position, so admirably located for centering to itself the traffic of the orient and the occident, the borian and australian. Look to the vast riches and resources of attached and contiguous Territory; its glorious climate, and active energy of the inhabitants; and say whether these same people, who have marred the destiny of its great counterpart on the Atlantic, shall do the same for it. Be assured their ignorance and blinding hatred of the slave States, will most certainly prompt them to essay it. We all are willing to be friendly with the transmontane free States, although rivals, if these intermeddlers, who are curses to their own and others interests, would permit. But far more to us than the enmity or friendship of the people North, is the intimate social and commercial intercourse we should cultivate with those of the South. Not in this discourse can I unfold to you the vast benefits to be derived from such relations. It is enough to say, that the denizens of that rich region, will most willingly extend to us the hand of friendship, and aid to mutually enrich and otherwise serve each other, by an interchange of products, should we be wise enough to grasp it. Else refuse, and you drive them to build up at once, our injuring rivals to the South-Guaymas and Mazatlan. For not only is it the Southern trade we want, far more than the Northern; but the South holds the only passways for a transeontinental railway to the Pacific, and is even now extending that great achievement towards us. Moreover, will soon possess several of the Northern States of Mexico, and, in time, extend dominion over the whole.

The Yankee Bombastes Furiosos, Bully Bottoms,

and trenchant Dogberrys of Congress, and the editorial sanctums North, threaten, in the event the South shall leave them, to conquer the country of the Aztecs themselves, and shove aside its native inhabitants with immigrants from their land. I perceive, however, that the Mexicans are now engaged in serving several of this breed among them, the same way as is being done with some in the Southern States; which may induce them to believe the customs of that country wont suit them any better than those of the latter. The truth is, Puritanism does not flourish well in Southern climes. If nothing else would keep them out of Mexico, their intolerant antagonism to the prevailing religion there, would be all sufficient. At the same time, the tolerant Southrons will not be objected to upon this score.

Whilst upon this sacerdotal subject, appropriate to my theme will be to note the several sad blunders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, committed during the present imbroiglio transition period. As between Protestantism and Catholicism, I long since gave my preference to the latter, for reasons I need not here name.

Before the Italian war of 1859 had been commenced, I foresaw the Papal question would be the great stumbling-block, in the way of regenerating and uniting that oppressed and distracted country; and, anticipating action, or discussion even in the premises, published various articles through the papers, predicting in the main, what has since happened, and will shortly happen, to the Holy Father—his spiritual and temporal rule; at the same time urging upon the priesthood and the laity of that church, the policy and necessity of acquiescing in, and recognizing as inevitable destiny, these things. The High Priests of this persuasion have chosen to act otherwise, and thereby, not only failed to avert or stem the torrent of events, but in their foolish efforts at it, brought odium and disgrace upon themselves and their religion. Blind infatuation! These narrow viewed and selfish cardinals and prelates are still, by every art of jesuitry, sowing the seeds of discord and hate throughout catholicism; and doing all they can to thwart the noble aims of the "Elder Son of the Church." And of all their faithful flocks, none have shown such ready obedience to their behests, as the Irish; the last of any who should so acted; for in what direction shall they look for the deliverance of their native Isle, save to France as ruled by a Napoleon. See what the present Emperor has done for Italy—that very Italy, which Irish mercenaries, at the bidding of their priesthood, went to keep enslaved.

And look to the egregious blunders of the clergy in our land, in counseling members of the Catholic faith, especially the foreign born, to desert the cause of the South, in the late political contest; to abandon in their time of need, that people and that party which had always stood by and defended them and theirs. Do not all the intelligent among them, as well as, others, know, that but for the liberal spirit and protecting arm of the South, and the Democratic party birthed there, it is extremely probable no Catholic church, nor Irishman would have been suffered to exist in New England? But let them go their way, and try now what sort of a loving life they'll lead with their new Yankee allies, cut off, as they will be, from the conserving South. The Saxon Puritan and the Irish Catho-

lic in fraternal embrace! Why did not these same parties subscribe together to build a monument to Broderick, who, beyond all question, would been the Black Republican nominee instead of Lincoln, had he lived? And what has been witnessed in the present California Legislature? The mutual embracement, by these same antagonistic elements, of the manes of this bold, bad man!

The raid of John Brown into Virginia, and discharge of buckshot, last Fall, into a Catholic Irish congregation in San Francisco, with the avowed purpose, by the Vermonter who did it, of beginning a war of extermination against this sect, exhibit the *animus* of the chief portion of the tribe of Anglo-Saxon Levites. These two persons are called crazy; but rest assured they are but slightly, if any more insane, than the rest—only bolder and impulsive.

Mayhap, however, these Roman shepherds, were actuated like to myself, when voting for Mr. Lincoln—seeking to give that party a victory, in order the better to kill them off.

I must begin to close, although the subject opens to my mind a vast deal more of interest I might expatiate upon. The timorous and foolish apprehend disunion, as if its happening would blot the very land from being, and derange the planetary system. Let me assure them of their error. No earthquake will then submerge us beneath the ocean's wave; still we'll stand on *terra firma*; the soil remain as fruitful; the seasons revolve, and be as genial as before; the sun as brightly shine as ever; and all of Nature's laws remain unrepcaled and in full force as usual. The same general edict seems to demand, that society too, in its progression, must alternate with peace and war. Mutation is the fate of every nation. They pass through periods of territorial aggregation and disintegration, as well as change in form of government.—And as we have had the one, so must follow the others. Let the kaleidoscope revolve; perhaps some prettier combination will yet phase itself. Change, is life. Stagnation, death. As the murky, fetid air requires destructive storms to freshen and rehealth our physical atmosphere, so the electric shock of revolutions are indispensable for the same effect upon the moral. Like the sea, which salt keeps not from putrifying, unless often stirred by winds, so society demands disturbance ever and anon, to prevent the lapsing into inertness and disease.

A good effect of revolutions, such as now, is to release the minds of men from the despotic sway, and superstitious worshipping of empty or perverting forms, that they might elsewhere seek for the substance undefiled. The American people had become the mere slaves of rotten parties, and as a consequence, completely under the control of aspiring demagogues, thieving money-changers, and the pliant, pander tools of these—our mercenary, unprincipled and parvenue editors.

It's time this government was dissolved, since instead of our numerous politicians enlightening more the people in governmental science, they have so rapidly benighted their minds, that an immense majority, at this day, are even profoundly ignorant of the fundamental basis of its Federal organization: affirming, as they do, that it is a consolidated, centralized power, to which the States are inferior and subordinate, instead of the opposite, which is truth. In justice to the Northern mind I may remark, that they, with few exceptions, never did,

could, nor can comprehend this *supra State Sovereignty*. Hence, are not liable to the charge of growing more obtuse.

We boast of the upward, onward march of civilization with us. It is a falsehood. For years a pal of darkness has been settling over the land, consequent upon the absorbing thought and quenchless thirst for gain: until now it is regarded by nearly all, that the chief and only duty of man on earth, is to buy and sell commodities, and otherwise devote themselves to a cent per cent accumulation of money. This kills the soul and puts man on a par with brutes. These then stone or starve their Prophets and men of letters, drive State men into obscurity, and drag down all high callings, to their own base level; there to be let out on contract to the lowest bidder.

No government can long exist which does not sustain, and is not sustained by its men of genius; by those who devote their choice intellects to the fine arts, and the loftier sciences. In Europe, in China and Japan, the State and wealthy people, especially the titled, are patrons and encouragers of these. There the Litterateur and Savant, are honored, aided and high ranked. Hence, unless great abuses are practiced by those in power, when these too are neglected and misreated, they are found supporters of the government—often filling various grades of office. What does our government or people toward fostering high art and letters? What aid and patronage rendered by our rich biped swine, who seem all unconscious, that a goodly portion of the wealth their superior cunning enables them to abstract from others, ought, as a matter of policy and right, to be shared with those few men of mind and virtue, who work out the problems, and give that moral support to the government which protects them and theirs? None! Nor yet bestow more than a mite, many of them nothing, upon the sullering, ignorant, and despoiled poor. Therefore, do I, in behalf of both these deeply injured classes, say down with such a government, and down with such a degrading and degraded aristocracy!

Thus have we been sinking as a nation. For years our government has done nothing good nor great, externally nor internally; and never would, so long as the sections held together to continue their cat-dog fight, and worrying of each other.—All pure religion was fleeing from the land. A big war among us will restore it. It will raise the minds of men above the engrossing cares of sense, and mere trivialities of life; teach them their insignificance and littleness, and awe their animal indifference, and self-sufficient atheism, into reverence for God.

You ask me whence this knowledge—how I know these grand events, foreshadowed in the words of time?—Ask whence Moses and the Prophets, read about in Holy Writ, got knowledge of the future. Now Baptist John knew he was forerunner of One mightier soon to come. And seek the source of inspiration which enabled this Great One, to speak as he spake. Ask how the writers and philosophers of France, for more than a generation anterior to the downfall of the Bourbons, foretold that event—graphically picturing in advance the "Reign of Terror;" and even before the birth of the great Napoleon—"a Messiah of new ideas"—spoke of his advent, and the grand part he would and did perform. And learn from whence the clear pre-

science of this illustrious Titan, and that of the present Emperor of the French, which so well enabled them to anticipate great coming events, and thereby outwit all the other Potentates and Ministers of Europe. All these Seers, were called, for a time, either wizards else insane, by the foolish multitude. And whence, I ask you, the consciousness which taught me some fifteen and more years ago, whilst wandering almost alone, amid the wild and dangerous scenes of this gorgeous sunset land, nursing on man, his origin and destiny—to think, and then speak my thoughts to others—that a vast change of sentiment in matters of religion, was on the eve of happening, which would topple over the old faith in church creeds, miracles and Bible fables. Behold since, the wide-pervading infidelic, psychological, and spiritualistic theories and philosophies, with their numerous disciples. Likewise the threatened downfall, else important transfer of the papal power.* Also declaration made at the same time, that before twenty years had passed away, the anti-slavery false wave would begin to ebb—the African slave trade become once again legitimized and sanctioned by all christian nations; and this order of servitude not long thereafter, be recog-

* "The Emperor-Pope" is the title of the latest Parisian brochure. It is correctly thought to have been "inspired" by His Majesty. The pamphlet has not yet reached here, but the contents are doubtless identical, in the main, with articles of mine published through the *S. F. Bulletin*, two years ago, under the same caption.

nized throughout the world, as right and proper.—Whence too the full belief and knowledge, six years ago, and proclaimed so often since, that the day for disunion of these confederate States, was nigh at hand, and likewise the extinction of our democratic form of government?

Who knows the past and present, knows the future; hence, he who knows not the future, knows not the past nor present. Only a few in any age are gifted with those loftier conceptions of the soul, which enable them to comprehend the past and present, and have a farseeing vision into the future. The peculiar bent of every mind is a birth-right; subject, of course, to marring or perfecting, by favorable or unfavorable education and surroundings during life.

A Prophet is one born with superior perceptive faculties, and through life a devoted lover of, and ardent, diligent seeker after truth. Hence he finds it—sees it where others look, but fail to see. He sees it through the light of intuition and induction. Sees it, because unlike others, mistakes not causes for effects, nor effects for causes; but traveling back to fountain sources, observes and studies the germ of things; marks their growth and qualities; and then reasoning through the aids of analogy, intuition and induction, as taught by history, science, experience, and feeling can tell, with unerring instinct and judgment, what fruits will be produced.

VIRGINIA.

The mighty has fallen. The land of Washington. Jefferson, Madison, Marshall and Henry has voted to become a fief of Yankedom. Thirty years imbibition of Northern ideas has produced the fruits I long have greatly feared. The ancient spirit of Virginia has fled. I await to hear she has permitted the inauguration of Lincoln at Washington, to heap those bitter curses upon her, which should come from a once adoring son. My respect and love for her is rapidly changing to contempt and hate.

Foolish people! Their waning honor, their cowardice, and short-sighted selfishness, which induce them at this critical juncture to place the conduction of affairs into the hands of traitors and old imbeciles, will bring upon them the very evils they seek to, and might have averted; for not only is she, in her present blind action, preparing to plunge her citizens into bloody strife among themselves, but paving the way to make her soil the battle field for invading Northern armies. Most surely is she treading that downward road, which will make her despised by both North and South; the North, because her people are not more Northern in sentiment; and the South, because they are not more Southern. And none will despise her more than the other upper border Slave States, who, when her fatal policy shall be clearly demonstrated, will taunt and denounce her for misleading them with her false counsel and example.

I append an appeal sent eastward the 1st of December, to be published there. Whether reaching its destination, I have not ascertained. High hearted and hopeful when it was written, I, now fearing, sad and mournful, send it forth here, to let others read, if not appreciate, the inner deep feeling of my nature:

"APPEAL TO VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTH.

Arouse ye! arouse ye! Proud land of my birth. A vindictive and fierce hating foe doth assail thee. Even now are they approaching thy ill-guarded gates, and long time have had their paid tempters, polluters and spies in thy midst.

Awake! O awake! people of Virginia—thou descendants of heroic sires and chaste mothers. Dire dangers encompass thee; all that is worth living for, nay, life itself, is at stake, and must at once be battled for at the sword's point, else cowardly surrendered to the enemy. Degenerate as so many of thy ancient stock have become, it behooves all to harken to the voice of those still worthy of a noble ancestry, and learn what you shall do to be saved. A glorious future yet awaits thee, my once proud and irreproachable State; should the counsels of a chivalrous son be now heeded—of one as eloquent and bold as our own immortal Henry, of revolutionary fame. He calls thee to ARMS!—to panoply thyself as one man in stern battle array; and, not waiting for the foe, with their long since de-

clared hellish intents, to come down among you, there establish head-quarters, secure all the strong-holds and appliances of war, and then open a far worse than Pandora's box, march up in serried columns to their own boundary, and defy them to pollute thy, or thy brethren's soil, by a single foot-step over that border.

And O! ye other Sovereignties of the South—brethren and children, all of old Virginia—rally to the standard of the brave leaders who are calling upon thee to defend thy all from desecration and ruin. Listen to the voice of one, who, though long absent and wide away from thee, yet feels his heart pulsate more fervidly than ever in favor of thy jeopardized honor and rights, and who as jealousy as any of thy resident sons, would watch over and guard thee from harm. Listen to me all ye inhabitants of the Slave States—to me, who so many years have sojourned in their midst, and daily come in contact with that magnificant, tanatical Northern horde, who, not alone aim to devastate the domain and upturn the household altars and gods of the South-ern people; but whose devilish doctrines sap the foundations of society, and are rapidly plunging to wreck, and ruin, and bloody strife, the land in which themselves live. To beat back these worse than barbarians (birthlings of an effete civilization of vulgar hucksters and bigots), and force them to turn upon each other, and against us of the Free States, who dissent from them, and here drench the land with human gore, the South has only to martial her forces, present a bold, determined and united front, and all of this is accomplished. The battle, among us, must ere long commence, whether the South shall cowardly, ignorantly and fatally permit herself to become a participant in the ruin or not. Then list to this voice of warning, ye of my natal section, and save yourselves from that calamity the fiend spirit of the North

would involve the whole country. You little comprehend your epoch, your enemy, your danger, and your power and policy to defend yourselves, if you do not immediately act—aye, even to the fullest, the bold part Governor Wise has indicated, and will yet more clearly point out.

That Virginia, in common with every Southern State, save her of the proud Palmetto flag, has most sadly degenerated, their pusillanimous effrontery for years, of Northern insult and aggression, is proof patent to the world. All honor, then, to the glorious State of South Carolina. The shades of her departed Great are watching over her, and counselling no further waiting for full concert with ignoble sisters, which for years have kept her, howling, pleading, praying, that they would strike for rescue from a common danger and take strike for their allies and their friends—strike for all that is dear to freemen—nay, in defence of life itself, and for what is valued more than life. That this gallant State, with her almost unanimous patriotic population, her numerous wise and high purposed statesmen, and filled with warriors, who are every way the equal of her Sumters, Marions, and Montros of the past, is resolved to battle to the death rather than longer submit to be a member of this foul Confederacy, is beyond all question. No more compromising compromises will she be a party to, which but tie the hands of the entire South to enable the Northern foe to make further inroads with impunity. She well knows that to stay in the Union, upon any terms, will be disgrace and death; if she goes out, the worst can only be death without the disgrace. Then, wherefore, O people of the South! do you longer hesitate? Cataline is at the gates of Rome, and yet you still debate.

CHAS. E. PICKETT.

SAN FRANCISCO, November 20th, 1860."

ADDENDA.

Society, in most of our free States, is, at present, much similar to degenerate Judea in the days of Christ; and of Athens, in the time of Socrates. The hypocritical, selfish priesthood incited the vicious rabble to crucify the former; and the same order of priesthood, in conjunction with that vile crew, the Sophists, whom he induced to hate him, because so often denouncing and exposing their shallowness and demagoguery, and who are represented among us by our editors and politicians; caused the death of the Christ-like Grecian. We learn from well attested history, the terrible retribution which soon after overtook these peoples.

A bloody whirlwind revolution not alone dethrones and drives into obscurity, else throttles these false-teaching knaves and fogies, but puts an end to their bamboozling treachery, and cunningly argued plausible theories. American affairs have been tangled into a Gordian Knot of words. The sword alone can disentangle them. Strike, Alexander! for I am sadly sore of living under this despotism of gabblers.

TENNESSEE.

And this once high-toned, gallant State (the much loved adopted home of my young manhood) which guards the tomb of the brave Jackson, has, too, become so Yankeeized, as to follow in the wake of the disgraced border slave States. No wonder, when we look to the character of her leaders. First, the

redoubtable parson Brownlow; next, that cold blooded, and lifelong semi-Abolitionist—John Bell; but worse than these, the groveling, ingrained vulgarian, and Red Republican—Andrew Johnson.

"NO MORE SLAVE STATES."

This popular motto at the North, is about being accepted to by the South. The slaveholding States have, at length, concluded to no longer disgrace, harrass and wound the sensitive conscience of that pious and humanitarian section by remaining connected with them.

QUESTIONS.

Fools, hypocrites, sycophants and time-servers contend that Lincoln now be elected, should not adhere to the cardinal principles of the party that made him President. True, a Chief Magistrate, or other chosen official, should not be too prospective and unconciliatory, after induction to power; but what sort of doctrine, policy and morality is that which counsels men to ignore the main ideas and wishes of the people who be bowed to, if suffice upon them, in order to appease opponents?

If Lincoln is now to stand upon the Breckinridge platform, wherefore the fierce opposition to the latter, in the late campaign; and why not elected him instead of Lincoln?

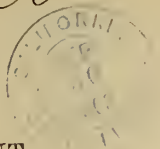
Is not the widespread declaration in the North, that a disavowance of the Union will date the downfall of Democratic institutions there, an admission, that they have not the virtue and intelligence to uphold such form of government without the guidance and support of the superior South?

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A PLAN



TO STOP THE PRESENT

AND

PREVENT FUTURE WARS.

BY ROB'T E. BEASLEY,

A CITIZEN OF RIO VISTA, CALIFORNIA.

CONTAINING A PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR THE GENERAL
GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES OF
NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

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RIO VISTA, CAL.

1864.

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PROCLAMATION.

I, Robert E. Beasley, of the Twin House Rancho, Solano County, California, issue this my Proclamation, number one, that the present war, said by some to exist in the United States, shall cease by limitation; on the 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1869, under penalty of my sovereign displeasure. I issue it not as the servant of Mexico, China, Louis Napoleon, or any other power, unless it may be that I am a servant of God, (of which I have serious doubts for reasons that I may some day make public), but as one of the many thousands of sovereign people of the sovereign State of California. As such I issue it.

ROBERT E. BESALEY.

PLAN.

I now respectfully suggest for the consideration of the Governors of the several States concerned, as a means by which it may be stopped at an earlier date: That each governor issue writs of election at an early date, requiring all legal voters, under penalty of one thousand dollars, to attend the polls and vote that the war shall be vigorously prosecuted, or that it shall stop. If the "prosecution of the war" shall have received the greatest number of votes, then all persons so voting, and all having failed to vote, shall be organized and placed in the army, and compelled to assist in prosecuting the war. So shall they fight with courage, and each according to his desire, as to the side he may wish to fight for.

It is my opinion they would fight with such a will and "vim," as to deter other nations from interfering in our domestic quarrels. We cannot fight always. Too long a continuance of the war may weaken us so that we will not be able to repel foreign

invasion, and if so, farewell to free government for at least two thousand years.

I cannot comprehend why Union men want Copperheads "drafted" into the service. For instance, suppose Abraham Lincoln, as a private citizen, should say to me, "I can take Governor Andrews and whip or kill Governor Low and yourself." I should certainly accept the challenge, if I believed any great good would result from it, particularly the vanquishing of my foe, and in the meantime, if I should discover that Low would rather that Lincoln and Andrews should whip, I would greatly prefer fighting the three alone, rather than have Low help me whip the two.

It is also my opinion that there are thousands of persons who would vote that the war shall cease; but who if they are at the polls, would like to take a hand in it, and if so, they should fight on the same conditions as those who voted that the war should be prosecuted. And, as a preventive of other wars, I do respectfully submit for the consideration of the sovereign people of the Sovereign States of North America, the following Constitution:

CONSTITUTION

OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the sovereign States of North and South America, in order to stop the effusion of human blood, establish *Justice*, insure *Domestic Tranquility*, provide for the common *Defense*, promote the *General Welfare*, secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, and to prepare for a better or worse world, as we may individually choose, do ordain, adopt and establish this Constitution for the Sovereign States of North and South America:

ARTICLE I.

SEC. 1. All legislative power herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the general Government of the sovereign States of North and South America, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of two members from each State, chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and it shall be the duty of the people individually to vote for the two persons that they believe to be the best in those States for the position. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and been five years a citizen of some one of the States, Territories or Districts, composing the general Government of the sovereign States of North and South America, and who shall not when elected be an inhabitant of the State or Territory in which he shall be chosen.

Direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, in proportion to the amount of real and personal property of the several States, to be ascertained from the assessor's returns of the several counties of the several States.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker, and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the general Government shall be composed of one Senator from each State, chosen by the people thereof for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote, and it shall be the duty of the people to vote for the person that they individually believe to be the best man in the State for the office of Senator. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, and of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and the third class at the expiration of the sixth year. And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, the executive authority of the State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancy. No person shall be a Senator who shall not

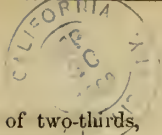
have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been five years a citizen of some one of the States composing the general Government of said Sovereign States, and who shall not when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the general Government of the sovereign States of North and South America, shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the functions and fill the office of President of the general Government. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be under oath or affirmation. When the President of the general Government is tried, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the general Government shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of three-fifths of the members present. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the said general Government; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof. The Congress shall assemble at least once in each year, and such meeting shall be on the second Monday in February, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for



disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-sixth of those present, be entered on the journals. Neither house during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than two days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation of five dollars per day for their services, together with their expenses in going to and returning from Congress, to be paid out of the treasury of the general Government of the sovereign States of North and South America. They shall in all cases, except lying, treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same. And for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall during the term of his office, be appointed to any civil office under the general Government, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person, holding any office under the general Government, shall be a member of either house during such continuance in office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as in other bills. Every bill having passed both houses shall, before it becomes effectual as a law, be signed by the President of the general Government as a mark of approval, otherwise he shall return it to the house in which it originated, with his objections thereto; said objections shall be entered in full on their journal. The house shall then proceed to reconsider it, and if two-thirds of that house agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other

house, by which it shall be likewise reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within sixteen days, Sundays excepted, after it shall have been presented him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the general Government, and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, may be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and lower house, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, in all the States, Territories, districts, and colonies of the general Government, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of all the States, Territories, districts, and colonies composing the general Government, but all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the said general Government. To borrow money on the credit of the general Government, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, Territories, districts, and colonies, and Indian tribes. To establish an uniform system of naturalization, and uniform laws of bankruptcy. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the Government. To establish post offices and post roads. To promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective productions and inventions. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court. To de-

fine and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money for that purpose, shall be for a longer term than two years. To provide and maintain a navy. To make rules for the government of the land and naval forces. To provide for calling forth the militia into the regular army, to execute laws of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. [There is no such thing as rebellion in a republican or democratic government. The masses of the people never rebel against good government, and they have a right to change or alter their government when and as they please.] To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding forty miles square), as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the general Government, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the General government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, or in any department thereof, or any officer thereof.

SEC. 9. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

No soldier shall, in the time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. No person shall be held to answer for a capital offence, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on the presentation or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war and public danger. Nor shall any innocent person, having committed no crime, and not charged with any crime, be arrested. Nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

SEC. 10. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in case of invasion, the public safety may require it, and then by no power but Congress. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed. No capitation or other direct tax, shall be laid unless in proportion to the amount of real and personal property, to be ascertained from the assessor's returns of the different counties of the different States. No tax or duty shall be laid on any articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy, impartial and public

trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, (which district shall have been previously ascertained by law), and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. No title of nobility shall be granted by the general Government, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign State. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the general Government, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress. No State shall without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the General government of the Sovereign States of both North and South America, he shall hold office during the term of four years and shall not hold the office two terms in succession, and together with the Vice President chosen for the same term elected as follows :

The people of all the States, Territories and Districts, shall

meet at their respective preeincts on the second Thursday of October, and vote for the person they individually believe to be the best or as good a man as any citizen of the general Government, regardless of what part of the general Government of which he is a citizen ; the name and location of the person voted for shall be distinctly written upon each ballot ; the authorities shall make a distinct list of all persons voted for and the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign, certify and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the general Government, directed to the President of the Senate, and he shall in the presence of the Senate and lower house, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be declared so elected, and the person having the next greatest number of votes for President, shall be Vice President. If two or more persons receiving the greatest number of votes receive an equal number of votes, the Senate shall decide by ballot which of them shall be President, and if there be but two, the other shall be Vice President, if more than two, then the House of Representatives shall decide by ballot which shall be Vice President. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible for Vice President. No person except a natural born citizen of some one of the States or Territories or Districts of the Government shall be eligible to the office of President, neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty years and been twenty-one years a citizen of one of the States, Territories or Districts of the general Government. Upon determining the election as above, Congress shall provide for the publication and thorough distribution of a certified copy of the election returns for President. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the duties of his office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President. And Congress may by law provide for the removal, death, resignation or inability of both the President and Vice President,

declaring what officer shall act as President, and he shall so act accordingly until the disability be removed or the next President elected. The President shall at stated times receive for his services the compensation of forty thousand dollars a year, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the Government. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation.

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, obey and defend the Constitution of the general Government of the sovereign States of North and South America.

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the the army and navy of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service of the general Government ; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principle officers in each of the Executive Departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the general Government, except in cases of lying, larceny and impeachment. He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur, and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors and other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law or in the heads of departments. The President shall have the power to fill up all

vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give Congress information of the state of the Government, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed—and shall commission all the officers of the general Government.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil officers or servants of the general Government shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of lying, larceny or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. The judicial power of the Government shall be vested in Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may ordain and establish. The judges both of the Supreme courts and all inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall receive for their services a salary to be fixed by law and not to be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution and the laws of the general Government, and treaties, which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors and other public Ministers and Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies in which the Government may be a party or between States, or between a State and the citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, the general Government, and between a State or its citizens and a foreign State or

subject. In all cases affecting Ambassadors, Ministers and Consuls, or where a State be a party the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction, in all other cases before mentioned it shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact under such exceptions and regulations as Congress shall make. The trials for all crimes except impeachment shall be by jury, and held in the State where the crime was committed, if committed in no State then in such place as Congress by law shall direct. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have a speedy, impartial and public trial as a right by him to be enjoyed, said trial to be by an impartial jury in the District where the crime was committed, said District being previously ascertained by law. He shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation and be confronted with the witnesses against him and be entitled to compulsory process for obtaining his witnesses, and entitled to the benefit of counsel in his defense. In suits at common law where the thing in controversy exceeds in value five dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the Government, than according to the rules of common law.

SEC. 3. Treason against the general Government shall consist only in levying war against it, adhering to its enemies or in giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, except on the evidence of two witnesses to some overt act or by confession in open court. Congress shall have the power to fix the punishment for treason, but no attainder of treason shall work a corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

SEC. 4. Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted (except as hereinafter prescribed.) Any officer or servant of the general Government who shall steal or appropriate to his own use any property or money belonging to Government to the amount of five thousand dollars, shall on conviction be sentenced by the Court to be imprisoned one day for each dollar

stolen, together with such fine as the Court may see proper to impose, which when collected shall be paid over to the treasurer of the general Government, and by him placed to the credit of the General Fund to be created by Congress, for the embellishment and improvement of the National Cemetery to be located in the lee side or end of the district that may be selected for the capital of the general Government. Any officer stealing to the amount of ten thousand dollars shall be imprisoned for life, with a fine as last above, to the same use. Any officer so stealing in any amount over ten thousand dollars, shall be hung with a rope by the neck till dead, and his property shall be confiscated to the same General Fund as above if he have neither wife nor children ; and no such person shall be buried in the National Cemetery.

SEC. 5. The enumeration in this constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. Powers not delegated to the general Government nor prohibited to the States herein, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The judicial power of the general Government shall not be holden to extend to suits in law or in equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the States composing a part of the general Government by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceeding of every other State, and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proven and the effects thereof.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States. A criminal charged in any State with any crime, who flees from said State into any other, shall, on demand of the Executive of said State, be delivered up to the State claiming jurisdiction of said charge.

SEC. 3. No State or Nation has any right to interfere or meddle with the domestic concerns of any other State or Nation. Any State composing part and parcel of the general Government, having interfered as above, shall be expelled from the general Government by a majority vote of Congress, and shall not be re-admitted under any condition, for fifty years after such expulsion, when she may be re-admitted on such conditions and terms as Congress may direct. Any legislature of any State, passing any law making it criminal or improper for its citizens to carry out or assist in executing any clause of this Constitution, or any constitutional law of Congress, then the legislators composing said legislature, shall be deemed nullifiers, and on conviction, shall be punished for the same with the penalties of treason against the general Government, unless said law shall have been presented to the people and by them ratified by ballot, then the State shall be expelled from the general Government, as in the last case, and not be again re-admitted for twenty-five years, then she may return on such terms as Congress may dictate. Any State entering into any treaty, alliance or confederation, granting letter of marque or reprisal, coining money, emitting bills of credit, making anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, passing any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility, may be expelled from the general Government by a vote of seven-eighths of Congress, and she may be re-admitted on paying into the treasury of the general Government \$100,000, and removing the cause of expulsion. Any State passing an ordinance of secession, shall forfeit all claim to all territory belonging to the general Government, the navy, and all other property belonging to the general Government, except such as may be within her State limits, and shall pay her portion of all debts the general Government may owe at the time, and she shall be put into peaceable possession of all forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and all other property belonging to the general Government, that are located within her State limits.

SEC. 4. Any State having been expelled, or having withdrawn, shall forfeit all claim to all property of the general government, except all the property within her State limits, which, with all dockyards, houses, forts and arsenals, shall be delivered to her upon her paying her portion of the debt of the general Government then owing. She shall, however, be entitled to a credit, or delivery of her portion of any surplus money in the general Government treasury. And in case of her return, she shall receive no credit for the forts, arsenals, dockyards, &c., in her limits, but they shall become the property of the general Government, and she shall pay back to the general Government the sum, if any, drawn therefrom at the date of secession, nor shall she receive credit for the amount of debt paid by her as her portion of the national indebtedness.

SEC. 5. After war shall have ceased in the old world, and they may not be able to provide for their servants or subjects, the people of any State desiring to purchase them, may do so by the consent of Congress, and all such white servants shall become citizens of such State after a service of fifteen years, and their heirs after such service shall be citizens of the general Government, and vote for President, Senator, or Representative, or fill either office if elected.

SEC. 6. No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping to another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labor or service may be due. No property, held as property in one State, under the laws thereof, getting into any other State, shall cease to be property because of any law or regulation of that State, but shall be given up to the owner.

SEC. 7. New States may be admitted by Congress, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor be formed by the juncture of two or more States, or parts thereof, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as Congress.

Old States, and combinations of States, may be admitted into the general Government. All their territory and navy shall be turned over to the Government at such price as Congress may think just. All her forts, dockyards, and like property shall be delivered to the general Government without price.

SEC. 8. Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the general Government; but nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to the prejudice of any claim of any State or combination of States. All property shall be equally protected by law in all the Territories, districts, and colonies of the general Government. The citizens of each and all States may move to and settle in any territory belonging to the general Government, taking with them any and everything that is property in the State from which they moved and any and everything that is property in any one of the States, shall be property in all the Territories. When a Territory forms a State Government, she shall enumerate what shall and what shall not be property in her State, and any property so declared not to be held as property in the future State, may be removed to where it properly belongs, within two years from the ratification of the State Constitution. No power within the geographical limits of the general Government, shall have the power to decide what shall and what shall not be property, except the States composing the said general Government, and they only within their State limits.

SEC. 9. The general Government shall guarantee to every State in the general Government, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, against domestic violence. At any time that the Government may need more troops than the regular army, it shall be the duty of the President, (having been authorized by Congress), to call on the governors of the several States for their quota, and it shall be the duty of the governors to call on the people to volunteer to fill such quota.

If they fail, he shall order a draft to fill it, if it require all the males and half the females in his State.

SEC. 10. Adopts what is generally known as the Monroe Doctrine, and authorizes Congress, in case it shall be necessary to use force to maintain it, to invite the co-operation of other Governments.

SEC. 11. It shall be the duty of Congress to provide against the extermination in any way of all the different grades of the human family that are now among us.

SEC. 12. No State having a republican form of government shall be refused admittance into the general Government on the ground of their having or not having two or more husbands to one wife, or *vice versa*, white or black slavery, or any other rule or regulation of their own, which does not conflict with this Constitution

Any State having white or black slavery, may abolish the same.

Any State desiring to have white or black slavery, may have it if they choose (the majority governing in all such cases.)

Any State may make all her people legal voters for State and County officers, but none but white male citizens of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, shall hold or vote for the office of President, Senator, or Representative of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America.

SEC. 13. When the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America shall consist of forty States, it shall be the duty of Congress to divide them into districts of two, after which each district shall send one Senator, and each State one Representative to Congress, and each Territory shall send one Representative to Congress.

SEC. 14. Any State that may be expelled from the general Government, shall take peaceable possession of all forts, magazines, dockyards, and all like property within her State limits, including all that may have been bought or built before and after she became a member of the general Government, without money and without price, and the same in case of the withdrawal of any State.

SEC. 15. The right of the general Government to issue letters of marque and reprisal, and to call out the militia, shall never be parted with on any pretext or condition whatever, and we, the people, hereby prohibit all departments of the general Government from doing so.

SEC. 16. After the year of the Lord, one thousand nine hundred, all adjacent Islands may be admitted as States into the general Government, but no State of Europe, "Asia," or "Africa," shall be admitted previous to the year of our Lord, two thousand.

SEC. 17. Lying being of much greater detriment to free government than larceny, Congress may pass such laws, having for their object the prevention of the servants of the general Government from doing so. All civil and military officers and soldiers shall be the servants of the people, within the geographical limits of the general Government.

SEC. 18. Any person being constitutionally elected, and doubting his ability to perform the duties of President, may decide who shall fill the position in his place, with the consent of Congress.

SEC. 19. Any State may pass laws having for their object the prevention of their State, County, and City servants from lying, but no special law shall be passed prohibiting her citizens from lying to each other, but any State may pass laws having for their object the prevention of their citizens from meddling with their neighbor's domestic concerns, and any State may pass laws prohibiting their citizens from lying to their own or their neighbor's dumb brutes, or unnecessarily abusing them in any way.

SEC. 20. Adopts Ephesians, chapter fifth, verse twenty-second, the same, sixth chapter, verses first to sixteenth—Paul to the Collosians, chapter fourth, first verse—Saint Mark, chapter twelfth, seventeenth verse, as admonitions to all people.

SEC. 21. No secret political party shall be tolerated in the geographical limits of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, and the Congress may pass laws having for their object the prevention of any

political or other party or individual from nominating any person for President, Senator, or Representative of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, or any persons declaring themselves a candidate for either office.

SEC. 22. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people, peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

SEC. 23. Adopts all laws of the United States not contrary to the spirit or letter of this Constitution, and the same shall be the laws of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, until they shall have been repealed by Congress, or other laws passed to supply their place.

SEC. 24. Immediately after the first election of President, Senators, and Representatives, in accordance with this Constitution, it shall be the duty of the Governors of the several States to select and prepare a place for the first meeting of Congress. On meeting, the Senate shall appoint a President *pro tempore* and proceed to business.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of five-sixths of the several States, or by Conventions in five-sixths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

ARTICLE VI.

If before any State shall have ratified this Constitution any five States of Central and South America shall meet in Convention, they are hereby authorized to make any amendments

that they think proper, or abolish the whole ; *Provided*, They form and adopt a better Constitution.

ARTICLE VII.

This Constitution and the laws of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties which shall be made under the authority of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution, but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America.

ARTICLE VIII.

The ratification of the Conventions of five States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.

Done at the Twin House Ranch, Solano County, California, September 12th, 1864. ROBERT E. BEASLEY.

ADDENDA.

Whatsoever God has made inferior, man cannot make equal or superior.

All men are not equally free and equal, neither the angels in Heaven or the demons in Hell, God the Father or God the Son (See St. Mark, chap. 13 : verse 32).

To multiply and replenish is of God, the reverse is of the Devil.

After this world and all the kingdoms of the earth shall have been annexed to the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, any human being

may live on any part of it and have all the comforts and luxuries of life that the world produces, by paying the cost of the article where it grows or is made, and freight on the same, together with a small commission to the merchant.

It is my individual opinion that this world may, by the wisdom of man, be made to feed and clothe one thousand human beings where there now exists but one single man, and that what has been in this world may be again (See St. Mark, chap. 6 : v. 39—44). I would suggest for the consideration of the State authorities of the several States concerned in the present war, said by some to exist in the United States, the propriety of taking the census of their respective States, male and female, as soon as the war is over, and passing laws that will give every one a chance to have a husband or a wife. I do hereby declare it to be my desire that no State that shall ever have belonged to or composed part of the United States of North America, shall ratify the foregoing Constitution previous to the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven. The suggestion of any amendment to the foregoing, by any gentleman or lady, will be thankfully received and duly considered. I would respectfully suggest as the most convenient and proper place for the permanent seat of the general Government of the Sovereign States of North and South America, somewhere within one or two hundred miles of the "Isthmus of Panama."

I am fully persuaded in my own mind, principally from observation, that man knows less when he first arises in this world than any of the brute creation, but may, if not too much under the influence of sin and deception, deceit and wickedness, reach a mental station that will enable him to almost view the other and better world. To this end have I cast all my labors, to elevate the minds of men by such a standard as shall bring about such a change in the material government of earthly kingdoms as shall influence all mankind for a glorious and happy future.

ROBERT E. BEASLEY.

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How and Where the Money Goes.

The following correspondence between the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER and the Rev. Dr. BELLOWS, President of the Commission, was first published nearly a year ago in "The Sanitary Commission Bulletin," the semi-monthly publication of the Commission in New York. The general want on this coast of information in regard to the practical working of the Commission, and especially in regard to its financial conduct, renders the republication here of this correspondence, coming, as it does, from the highest authority, especially useful and timely. The length of Dr. Bellows' reply has compelled us to abridge it, but it is believed that nothing essential to a full understanding of the "money question" has been omitted. The short descriptive headings prefixed to several paragraphs, have been inserted for the convenience of the reader.

BROOKLYN, February 3, 1864.

MY DEAR DR. BELLOWS :—I think great good would be done by a brief statement of the mode of using money by the Sanitary Commission.

There is great ignorance of its scope, details, and need of vast funds ; and where there is ignorance, there will be more or less fear and doubt whether such volumes of money as, in the imagination of the people, are rolling into its treasury from these national fairs, can be needed or well spent. Can you give a brief view of the *per cent.* of *expenses* to your *receipts* ; a synopsis of the things embraced in your several departments ; some facts as to amounts required for particularized articles, such as clothes department, vegetables, &c., &c. ? I want what can be read by a mechanic or laborer in two minutes, to give him an idea of the breadth not only of your sphere, but of the complexity of *things* required ; and how much it requires, for instance, to care for a thousand

wounded or sick men, and what number of thousands have been aided, and what proportion you have borne. Can you help me?

Yours, truly,

H. W. BEECHER.

DR. BELLOWS' REPLY.

NEW YORK, February 8, 1864.

Rev. H. W. BEECHER :

DEAR SIR :—At my first leisure I proceed to reply in full to your note, to which you have already received a condensed reply, such as a working man might read in two minutes.
* * * * The business of the U. S. Sanitary Commission lies in—

I.—COLLECTING SUPPLIES.

This is done through its Branches. During the first two years the homes of the country sent of their superfluity immense quantities of sheets, pillow-cases, comforters, blankets, shirts, drawers, socks, &c. This superfluity is long ago exhausted, while the want continues. Of course now they must buy the raw material, and make up newly what they originally could take out of their closets and trunks. * * * * *
It takes about fifteen-sixteenths of all the cost of the U. S. Sanitary Commission to furnish its supplies and transportation. The other one-sixteenth goes into the support of its homes, its lodges, its machinery of distribution, its hospital directory, and hospital and camp inspection. The *cash* which actually reaches the Central treasury of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, has in three years amounted to about *one million of dollars, of which the Pacific Coast has given nearly three-quarters !*

Of this money, more than half has been spent in the purchase of such supplies as the homes of the land do not and cannot furnish, and in the transportation of them. Such as

Condensed milk by the ton.

Beef-stock “ “

Wines and spirits by the barrel.

Crackers and farinaceous food by the ton.

Tea, coffee, and sugar, by the chest and hogshhead.

Crutches, bed-rests, mattresses, and bedsteads, by the 100.

Cargoes of ice, potatoes, onions, and curried cabbage, lemons, oranges, and anti-scorbutics, and tonics. At times we have supplied not only the sick, but a whole army threatened with scurvy, with the means of averting it; and we have averted it at Vicksburg, at Murfreesboro', before Charleston. Thousands of barrels of onions, thousands of barrels of potatoes, hundreds of barrels of curried cabbage, have been forwarded to various corps, even as far as Texas, to appease the demon of scurvy, and save our troops. * * * * *

II.—THE SOLDIERS' HOMES.

The next large expense is the support of twenty-five soldiers' homes, or lodges, scattered over the whole field of war, from New Orleans to Washington, including Vicksburg, Memphis, Cairo, Chattanooga, Nashville, Louisville, Washington, &c., &c. In these homes and lodges *twenty-three hundred* soldiers (different ones) *daily* receive shelter, food, medical aid, protection, and care. These soldiers are such as are crowded by the rigidity of the military system out of the regular channels; soldiers left behind, astray, who have lost their military status, convalescents, discharged men, not able to get their pay. Of these, the average length of time they are on our hands is about three days. The priceless value of this supplementary system no tongue can tell. The abandonment of it would create an amount of suffering which a multiplication of 2300 by 365 days in the year, will but serve to hint at.

In connection with these homes, at the great military centres, New Orleans, Louisville, Washington, are bureaus in aid of the discharged soldier's great necessities, growing out of his loss of papers in battle, or during the bewilderment of sickness, or through the ignorance of his superiors, or his own:

1. A Claim Agency, to secure his bounty.
2. A Pension Agency.
3. A Back-pay Agency.

The mercy of these ministries, by which soldiers and their

families, helpless without this aid—the prey of sharpers, runners, and grog-shops—are put in speedy possession of their rights, is inexpressible. * * * *

III.—THE HOSPITAL DIRECTORY.

A hospital directory, by which the whereabouts of all sick men is determined. There are 600,000 names in its books. It is corrected daily. It saves endless confusion, suspense and misery; prevents needless journeys: answers the most urgent questions; relieves the Homes of the feeling that their boys are lost in the crowded hospitals; blesses and keeps heart-whole hundreds of wives, mothers, and sisters, every day. It costs \$20,000 a year to maintain it, and it is worth a million, if human anxiety can be estimated in money.

IV.—HOSPITAL INSPECTION.

Sixty of the most skillful surgeons and physicians in the nation were—eight or ten at a time—six months engaged, under the direction of the Commission, in a systematic and scientific survey of *all* the general hospitals. They inspected 70,000 beds; saw 200,000 patients, and reported in 4,000 written pages the critical results of these inquiries. Can any body estimate the scientific and humane value of such a survey, brought home to the surgeon, the medical authorities, and the Government? Can our hospital system dispense with such a review on the part of the homes, and by the civil medical profession?

This work we shall resume after a proper interval. Dr. Newberry reports that the *best* hospital he has seen was at Bridgeport, near Chattanooga—a field hospital! What a pride and satisfaction to know that science and humanity are in the very front of our armies!

V.—THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE SICK

Carried on by us for the Government in vessels from the Peninsula—from which we brought 8,000 men in a comfort wholly unattainable by Government transportation, aided by

our generous medical students and our heroic, though delicate, women—we have since largely carried on in our patent hospital cars, in which the sick, without jar, can be conveyed hundreds of miles with little suffering or injury. We have these cars on the main lines, east and west, along which sick soldiers are carried.

VI.—FRESH HOSPITAL SUPPLIES.

We supply the barren market of Washington with daily car-loads of fresh hospital supplies from Philadelphia. All the beef, mutton, poultry, butter, eggs, vegetables, used in *all* the hospitals at Washington, are selected, forwarded, distributed by the Sanitary Commission—the Medical Department refunding our outlay at the end of each month, saving the profit made by ordinary dealers, and securing wholesome food to the sick.

VII.—THE BATTLE-FIELD SERVICE

Of the Commission is perhaps too well known to require any elucidation. But let us take the case of Gettysburg. We had accumulated stores, and placed agents at Harrisburg, Pa., Frederick, Md., and Chambersburg, and at Baltimore, to watch the probable necessities of Meade's army. We had inspectors and wagon-trains marching with it; one with each column. The dreadful battle came off. The best calculations of the Government had anticipated the wants of 10,000 wounded men. The result of that glorious, yet horrible contest, left about 25,000 men (our own and the enemy's) on an area of four miles square. Every church, private house, barn, shed, was crammed with wounded men—additional to field hospitals (in tents) whitening the hill sides, and drenching the soil in the blood of amputated limbs. The railroads clogged with trains forwarding troops to re-enforce Meade in his pursuit of Lee; the bridges burnt by the enemy; neither cars nor locomotives enough to do half the required business; the surgeons and stewards compelled largely to accompany the troops, who expected another battle within a week—what would have become of those noble sufferers, if the *half*-preparation (*not* half) which the providence of the Government had made, had not been

supplemented for the first week or two, *full one-half* by the Sanitary Commission, aided by the Christian Commission and other Relief Agencies? Look at the list of things (appended) furnished them alone, and remember that this was one single battle-field, and cost the Sanitary Commission in stores, clothing, food, and transportation, \$75,000. Was there one dollar more spent than was called for? Was one dollar mis-spent? Was not the moral and material economy in the saving of life, (I believe thousands of lives were literally saved by our sncor on that occasion alone,) and in the saving of pain and needless misery, such as every benefactor of the Commission must forever rejoice in?

Let me only add, that one dollar in hand before a battle, and spent in providing against its wants, by posting agents, creating depots, and arranging for the relief of the expected sufferers, is worth five dollars thrown in after the battle, to meet its dreadful necessities. For *economy's* sake we need a full treasury. * * * *

RECAPITULATION.

To recapitulate with sole reference to expense, in round numbers, and with only an approximation to exactness, I add the following facts:

1. The Board of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Medical Committee, and Standing Committee, give their time and services gratuitously. They are refunded (in part) their traveling expenses: nothing more.

2. Their Agents, two hundred in number, General and Associate Secretaries, Medical and Sanitary Inspectors, Relief Agents, Clerks, depot and store-house keepers, wagoners, &c., receiving some more and some less, average just \$2.00 per day, or less than ordinary mechanics' wages. Total, \$12,000 per month for the vast *human* machinery of the Commission, stretching from Texas to the Potomac, from before Charleston to Kansas.

3. About fifteen-sixteenths of all the eight millions the Commission has received, goes on to the backs, or into the mouths of the soldiers.

4. The cost of collecting and distributing supplies is less than *three per cent.*

5. About twenty-three hundred men are now, and for a long time have been, in daily use and enjoyment of the Homes and Lodges of the Commission.

6. The battle-field service of the Commission requires a large accumulation of funds and of supplies. At Murfreesboro', Antietam, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, sudden and vast demands were made, and are always likely to be made. Fifty thousand dollars would not cover the cost of our whole service in the first two weeks after any one of our great battles ; at Gettysburg it was \$75,000.

7. We reckon that if we divided all the aid we have given to the sick in regimental, general, and other hospitals, to men in peril of sickness from scurvy and exposure, it would amount to \$3.20 a case ; many men having received this several times, as often as they were sick. The seriously wounded have been often—as at Gettysburg—the receivers of as much as \$10 aid per man. We mention this to show not how much, but how little, this sometimes called *extravagant* Commission costs, considering the blessings it is the almoner of.

Finally, the only uncertain element in these calculations, is *the estimated value of our supplies.* The uncertainty here is not due to want of great pains to ascertain the facts. We shall very soon be able to lay before the public the exact estimates, how many shirts and their estimated value, how many drawers, stockings, sheets, comforters, &c., and the estimated value of each ; and they can then judge for themselves. Meanwhile they must give our statement only such credit as they may think our opportunity to know, and our desire to state frankly the exact truth, entitle it to.

With great regard,

Yours, truly,

HENRY W. BELLOWES,

President.

**SUPPLIES DISTRIBUTED DURING AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE
BATTLES AT GETTYSBURG, JULY 1ST, 2D, AND 3D, 1863.**

Of Articles of Clothing, etc. viz. :

Drawers, (woolen) 5,310 prs	\$9,292 50
" (cotton) 1,833 prs...	1,833 00
Shirts, (woolen) 7,158	14,316 00
" (cotton) 3,266	3,266 00
Pillows, 2,114	1,268 40
Pillow Cases, 264	105 60
Bed Sacks, 1,630	3,463 75
Blankets, 1,007	3,021 00
Sheets, 274	274 00
Wrappers, 508	1,498 60
Handkerchiefs, 2,659	319 08
Stockings, (woolen) 3,560 prs.	1,780 00
" (cotton) 2,258 prs	451 60
Bed Utensils, 728	182 00
Towels and Napkins, 10,000 ..	1,500 00
Sponges, 2,300	230 00
Combs, 1,500	60 00
Buckets, 200	75 00
Soap (Castile) 250 lbs.	50 00
Oil Silk, 300 yds	225 00
Tin Basins, Cups, etc., 7,000 ..	700 00
Old Linen Bandages, etc., 110 barrels	1,100 00
Water Tanks, 7	70 00
Water Coolers, 46	230 00
Bay Rum and Cologne Water, 225 bottles	112 50
Fans, 3,500	145 00
Chloride of Lime, 11 barrels ..	99 00
Shoes and Slippers, 4,000 prs ..	2,400 00
Crutches, 1,200	480 00
Lanterns, 180	90 00
Candles, 350 lbs.	70 00
Canvas, 300 square yards	360 00
Musquito Netting, 648 pes	810 00
Paper, 237 quires	23 70
Pants, Coats, Hats, 189 pes ..	96 75
Plaster, 16 rolls	4 00

Of Articles of Sustenance, viz. :

Fresh Poultry and Mutton, 11,000 lbs.	1,540 00
Fresh Butter, 6,430 lbs	1,286 00
Fresh Eggs, (chiefly collected for the occasion at farm- houses in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,) 8,500 doz ...	1,700 00

Fresh Garden Vegetables, 675 bushels.	337 50
Fresh Berries, 48 bushels.	72 00
Fresh Bread, 12,900 loaves ...	645 00
Ice, 20,000 lbs	100 00
Concentrated Beef Soup, 3,800 lbs.	3,800 00
Concentrated Milk, 12,500 lbs.	3,125 00
Prepared Farinaceous Food, 7,000 lbs.	700 00
Dried Fruit, 3,500 lbs.	350 00
Jellies & Conserves, 2,000 jars.	1,000 00
Tamarinds, 750 gallons	600 00
Lemons, 116 boxes	580 00
Oranges, 6 boxes	230 00
Coffee, 850 lbs.	272 00
Chocolate, 831 lbs.	249 30
Tea, 426 lbs	383 40
White Sugar, 6,800 lbs	1,156 00
Syrups, (Lemons, etc.,) 785 bottles	596 25
Brandy, 1,250 bottles	1,250 00
Whiskey, 1,168 bottles	700 80
Wine, 1,148 bottles	861 00
Ale, 600 gallons	180 00
Biscuit, Crackers, and Rusk, 134 barrels	670 00
Preserved Meats, 500 lbs	125 00
Preserved Fish, 3,600 lbs	720 00
Pickles, 400 gallons	120 00
Tobacco, 100 lbs	70 00
Tobacco Pipes, 1,000	5 00
Indian Meal, 1,621 lbs	40 50
Starch, 1,074 lbs	75 18
Codfish, 3,848 lbs	269 36
Canned Fruit, 582 cans	436 50
" Oysters, 72 cans	36 00
Brandy Peaches, 303 jars	303 00
Catsup, 43 jars	11 00
Vinegar, 24 bottles	3 00
Jamaica Ginger, 43 jars	37 25

Total \$74,538 52

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BRIEF STATEMENT

OF THE

Sanitary Commission's Work.

THE bounty of California first set the Sanitary Commission fairly on its feet, and secured the grand development to which this child of the people has grown.

The continued contributions of the Pacific Coast, never larger than during the past three months, merit the recognition given them by this publication, which aims to set forth briefly the nature and magnitude of the Commission's work.

The armies of Liberty grappling with the hosts of Treason have been too vast to be fed, unless steamboats and cars carry their supplies ; hence, the great contest has, for the most part, followed the lines of rail-roads and rivers. The streams of men have flowed especially over the roads running across Kentucky and Tennessee, and those connecting Boston, New York, and Washington. On those roads are twelve hospital cars, built by the Government on plans furnished by the Commission, made on purpose to carry sick and wounded men. To prevent jerks when they start or stop, a great spiral spring is set between each two cars, coiled about the connecting rod. To prevent jolts when in motion, there are double springs over each set of wheels ; while elliptic springs, on either hand, prevent the car's swaying from side to side. Within, along the sides, are twenty-four neat beds, each hung on four great rubber loops, — wherein the sick or wounded man is carried as tenderly as a child in its mother's arms.

In a corner of the car is a little kitchen, but a few feet square, where tea and coffee, soups, and all wholesome delicacies are kept ready. The air of the car is kept pure and free from dust; noise is shut out; the light is tempered to the feeble eye. And on reaching their journey's end, the men need not rise from their beds; the beds themselves are lifted from their rubber supports and carried wherever the sick man is to go.

Probably one hundred thousand men, who could not otherwise have been moved for any distance, have been carried, in these hospital cars, safely and pleasantly, from the heat and tumult of the front, to the coolness and quiet of northern hospitals and homes. Out of the 20,472 reported as carried in 1863 over the western roads, but one man died on the way. And these hospital cars may be taken as a representative of that grand work of the people, the SANITARY COMMISSION, which is but the organized affections of Home going forth to ease the awful jolts and jars, to hush the roar and lighten the horrors of war.

MAGNITUDE OF THE WORK.

Do not think that the Commission does but one sort of work or works in but one place. It goes wherever army or navy goes, and does whatever the case demands and its means permit.

As the navy fringes the whole coast with its black border, and creeps up all the larger rivers,—as the army presses forward, climbing the mountains, thridding the valleys, planting our banner on hill-top after hill-top wrested from the grasp of treason,—there, wherever army or navy follows the flag,—there goes the generosity of our homes,—making hospitals home-like, camps cleaner, death more decent and life more endurable,—there goes the Sanitary Commission.

Its tents are not pitched by the Potomac merely. At Fortress Monroe, at Newbern, at Charleston, at Port Royal; in Florida, at New Orleans and in Texas; all up the great river and on all its branches, at Vicksburg and at Memphis,—at Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta; at Cincinnati, Louisville, Cairo, and St. Louis; in every

large city of the mid-land and the east; yes, and on this far-off western edge of our country, wherever the flag flies, wherever a patriot soldier is seen, — there, to look after his needs, to minister to his wants, are some of the thousand Argus eyes and the thousand Briarean hands of the Sanitary Commission.

We may remember with pride that there is not a loyal State which does not contribute to its store, — and, with yet greater pride, that there is not a State, loyal or disloyal, north or south, in which its bounty is not distributed.

Going thus every where, it goes not to do *one* sort of work alone. It strives to do every thing which the love at home would do for the patriot soldier if it could. It ministers both to body and soul. While its hands bind wounds and heal diseases, it has also tender words for sorrow, and hands to bring or bear messages of love.

Disease and suffering it strives both to prevent and to cure. Its relief-work on the battle-field is but a small part of its work.

THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION.

Armies are slaughtered, not on battle-fields, but in camps. Their worst foe is not within the enemy's lines, but within their own. Fever, scurvy, and home-sickness kill more soldiers than the bloodiest charges and deadliest flank-fires.

In all armies from five to fifty die from *disease* where one dies from *wounds*. The number of those who die thus is usually from fifty to a hundred and fifty in a thousand, each year, a number which care may reduce to eight or ten in a thousand.

Sanitary reforms reduced the death-rate of the British army in Jamaica from 260 to 20 in 1000; in Trinidad (during 1860), from 106 to 0; in Barbadoes, from 58 to 6; in St. Lucia, from 122 to 1.—(*N. A. Review*, April, 1864.)

During our Mexican war, our army lost, from disease alone, the regulars 81, the volunteers 152 in 1000, per year. In Wellington's Peninsular campaign, the annual rate of loss from disease was 113 in 1000. In 1854, the annual death-rate of the British army in the Crimea, was, for July, August, and

September, 293 in 1000,—during October, November, and December, 511 in 1000 ; and in January, 1855, it rose to 1174* in 1000, (97 per cent. of which was from disease alone,) a rate which would have destroyed the entire army in three hundred and ten days !

Such slaughter called forth Florence Nightingale, roused the British people, and gave the world the most signal instance ever seen of the value of sanitary precautions. Reforms were begun which speedily reduced the rate to 250 in 1000 ; and in January, 1856, it was but 25 in 1000, where it had been 1174.

With the example of Florence Nightingale before their eyes, our country-women resolved that no such slaughter should ever be made of an army of their brothers and sons. They determined to send out another army to hover with protecting wings about our advancing hosts. Immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter, they began that organization which, by the blessing of God, has grown up into the U. S. Sanitary Commission.

It was providential that, while the whole womanhood of the North rose in one body to this blessed work, a little group in New York City, the "Woman's Central Association of Relief," should have found in him whose glory it will ever be that he was President of the Sanitary Commission, that scientific knowledge, organizing capacity, and executive vigor which could make that little association *central* indeed, precipitating about it and crystallizing into one organization the whole active benevolence of the country. In union was strength. The people's charities were not frittered away in weak, divided efforts. The little trickling streams which, flowing by themselves, would have been quickly absorbed into the ground or evaporated into the air, were thus united into one great river which could find or make a path, burst through any barriers, and move by virtue of its own momentum. Flowing thus with an ever-broadening stream, this ministry of mercy has been abundantly blest. Though vol-

* The reader will not deem this a misprint, but will note the meaning of "annual death rate." A regiment might lose 10,000 in a year, were its losses continually made good by reinforcements.

unteers are much more likely to be swept away by disease than are regular troops, the annual death-rate in our crude and hastily gathered armies has been kept down to an average of 65 in 1000. The highest rate was during the celebrated peninsula campaign, in 1862, when, amidst influences worse than any in the Crimea, it ran up in spite of all that could be done, to 165 in 1000.

These figures give data for an approximate estimate. Supposing our volunteer army to have averaged 400,000, during the three years and a half gone by, had the death-rate of the Mexican war prevailed, 212,800 men must have fallen by disease, — while at the rate of 65 in 1000, the number would have been but 98,000, — a saving of 114,800 lives. Now remembering that our army has often numbered over 500,000, remembering that 780,000 men were actually raised under the act of July, 1861, we shall see that it is a very low estimate, and one which allows for all other modifying circumstances, if we suppose that 100,000 men are alive to-day who would have been in their graves but for the labors of the Sanitary Commission. The strength thus saved for our cause, the sorrow thus warded from our homes, who can estimate?

This *preventive* work, not much known, seldom thought of, never to be estimated, is the most important work of the Sanitary Commission; and by saving the strength of our force, it must often turn the scale of battle. The triumph of our cause may depend, ultimately, not on the bayonets of our brothers, but on the needles of our mothers, sisters, and wives. The hands which scrape lint or prepare jelly in California are mining the fortifications of Richmond.

While the Commission saves lives in many ways, its *preventive* work is done by a corps of Inspectors, who hover about the camps and hospitals, using eyes, ears, and noses, to ensure that our brave boys have decent camps, wholesome food, good water, and pure air. Should any careless colonel or general make his camp a pest house, with malarious swamps about it, with dead horses or the filth of men poisoning the air, these Inspectors are upon his track. Should the men in any hospital be suffering from want of liquors, linen, delicacies, or anything which the Government does not supply, the

Inspector gives an order on the Sanitary Commission store-house, (there are five such in Washington,) and the want is met. Should any army be withering away from want of vegetable food, should scurvy be rotting its muscle and poisoning its blood, — the Inspectors give the alarm, and, at once, the Commission pours forward steamboat loads of the proper preventive. A lady has said that potatoes and onions captured Vicksburg. Then the Sanitary Commission captured Vicksburg; and it will see to it that no strong-hold of treason escapes because our army, while having shot and shell enough, has not potatoes and onions as well. Pickles and sauer-kraut are often mightier than grape-shot or Greek-fire.

In June last, the Inspectors in the army of the Potomac sounded the alarm. The Commission at once chartered several steamers and other vessels, (during May and June it chartered *nine* steamers, two barges, and one schooner,) and sent more than 12,000 bushels of vegetables to their relief. Among other things sent, last June to that army alone, were 207,156 lbs., (over 103 tons) of canned tomatoes; 71,660 gallons, (more than 2355 barrels) of pickles, besides sauer-kraut and other things in proportion, enough to give every man in that huge army a daily ration of fresh food, for at least ten days. Meanwhile similar vast amounts were going to other armies. The shipment of June 10th from Chicago, to the army before Atlanta, included such items as five tons of cod-fish; over ten tons, (21,420 lbs.) of crackers; three tons of dried fruits, (besides 1228 lbs. prunes and 1793 lbs. dried blackberries); a half ton of corn-starch and farina; 1587 lbs. butter; 1731 bushels of potatoes and 1175 gallons of pickles. (*See San. Com. Bulletin, pp. 493, 522, and 534.*)

Such life-preservers the hands of home are flinging to our brothers struggling midst deadly peril. The statistics of these expenditures, (the accounts of which are most strictly kept,) will be given to the world as soon as more pressing labors permit; but how many lives are thus saved to our homes, to our cause and the world, and what influence is thus exerted in determining the destiny of our country and the future of mankind, — that can be known only to the Omniscience of God.

While these supplies have been sent from the North, there are also, in the South, gardens cultivated by the Commission, amounting to more than one hundred and fifty acres, where vegetables are raised for our troops. And now that Jeff. Davis's plantation has been confiscated and handed over to the Freedmen, we may hope it will be devoted to the same purpose and made to feed the soldiers of Liberty.

"THE SOLDIER'S HOME."

Closely allied with the *preventive* work, is the work done by the Commission's lodging and lunch houses, which are set in all important central positions, at railroad junctions, along the larger rivers and in the cities. Here, the thousands of needy stragglers, men who from various causes are floating about, men lost from their regiments and in dread of being arrested as "deserters," — sick men going home, convalescents returning to camp, men who haven't got their pay and don't know how to get it, disabled men recently discharged, — all these waifs are picked up, washed, fed, clothed, lodged, — their papers corrected, their pay drawn, their transportation home or return to camp secured, the dreaded and unjust charge of desertion averted, — and their little remaining strength thus saved from the needless waste of anxiety, fasting, and exposure. None but the homeless, friendless soldier can appreciate this service.

In a few of these "Homes," there were given, up to Oct. 1, 1863, more than 208,000 night's lodgings and 700,000 meals to men who would probably otherwise have gone hungry and lain out of doors. These figures must be doubled, would we estimate the amount of these labors up to the present time. And this is not like the special service rendered after a battle, for a few weeks only. From year's end to year's end, this work goes on, every day and every night, while about 2500 men per day share its blessings. Touching enough are the stories of the poor boys picked up by the loving hands of these homes, — stories which we have no space here to tell.

THE POUND OF CURE.

Though as we have seen, the ounce of prevention is made thousands of tons by the Commission, there is yet the sad need of thousands of tons of *cure*. The battle-field work is that best known and requiring fewest words in this paper. Though not the Commission's most important work, it is that which first strikes the popular eye. It goes to the heart to hear of our brothers lying after the battle in trampled mud and gore, — lying all night in the cold rain, — lying for days without food, — starving to death on the fields they have won for us, — or lying in the hot sun till maggots crawl in their wounds! Such are the horrors of war. Strive as we may, prevent as much as we can, we cannot prevent them all.

When the army moves it seeks *victory*. It can think of nothing else. Victory is its first duty; food for the men and powder for the guns, its first want. The surgeon's stores may or may not be sent on. Food and powder *must* go first. Victory is the first duty. The movement of the battle may leave surgeons and stores twenty miles away, while every team is busy pouring forward ammunition and food.

Here is where the Sanitary Commission comes in. It has teams ready for this very emergency. It waits nobody's motion. When the army moves, it follows. When the battle begins, the Commission is on the spot. Its tents are spread; its red flag is hoisted; barrels of lemonade, milk-punch, tea, and coffee are made ready; ice is there to cool the feverish thirst of the wounded; splints, sponges, bandages, lint, are on hand. Midst the whistling of bullets, the fallen heroes are gathered in. The huge tents are soon filled with the patient, grateful sufferers; and thus, in the very shadow of the battle-cloud, the work of mercy goes on.

Of course, the Commission does but a part of what is done. It is no child's play to take *one* man from the bloody field, carry him to the tent, wash him, dress his wounds, bestow him in bed, and write his letter to his mother or his wife. And when, as at Gettysburg, this has to be done for 22,000 men, to care for the wounded requires an army of the well. All loyal hands are stretched to the rescue then. Christian ministers and

the gentle ones of their flock press on to this blessed work, and bring Christ to these 20,000 bedsides, with all his tenderness, sympathy, and hope. What was done by the Commission, in one ease out of fifty, may be seen by referring to Gen. Meade's letter in reference to Gettysburg. (*San. Com. Bulletin*, p. 368.)

During the recent campaign in Virginia, this relief work of the Commission has been vaster than ever before. After the first fierce grapple of Grant with Lee, where the wily rebel found that, in "Old Obstinate," he had met his match, the Commission had to expend for *extra* horses and wagons, more than \$30,000. For steamboat charters, &c., it paid more than \$27,000 more; and during May and June, it disbursed and expended to the army in Virginia alone to the amount of \$593,280 56. (*N. Y. Herald*, July 13, 1864.)

Apart from nursing and service, the variety of things thus supplied to hospital and camp is evinced by the following list of some of the things distributed by the Commission:

Air-cushions, air-beds, alcohol, ale, apples, arrow-root, axes, barley, bandages, bay-rum, beds, beer, bedsteads, bed-ticks, beef, beans, blankets, blouses, blacking, books, boots, brandy, bread, broilers, broma, brooms, buckets, butter, candlesticks, candles, carpets, eanes, eamphor, elisels, elhloroform, chlorine, eologne, eopperas, cocoa, eider, cherry-rum, cork-serews, coats, coffins, eraekers, eomforts, cloeks, eombs, eook-stoves, eheese, eoffee-pots, eorn, eots, crockery, erutehes, eushions, eorn-stareh, eranberries, eatsup, codfish, drawers, dressing-gowns, desks, dippers, drinking-tubes, eggs, envelopes, eye-shades, fans, faueets, farina, furnaees, figs, flour, games, gin, gelatine, grates, gimlets, graters, handsaws, haversacks, havelocks, hatehets, halibut, hams, herrings, herbs, horses, hominy, honey, hops, horse-radish, ice, lemons, lamp-oil, lamps, lanterns, lint, lumber, maeearoni, maekerel, mats, mattresses, matches, maizena, milk, mittens, mosquito-bars, mops, molasses, morphine, mustard, medieine-chests, nails, needles, night-caps, nutinegs, oat-meal, oakum, oil-silk, opium, oranges, oysters, onions, pantaloons, pails, paper, peneils, pen-holders, pipes, pumps, plasters, pills, peas, pepper, pie-plant, pickles, porter, potatoes, pillow-eases, pens, pillows, pitchers, pins, raisins, rice, razors, refrigerators,

rubber-blankets, spades, shovels, screw-drivers, sand-paper, sheets, shirts, slippers, socks, spittoons, spoons, sauce-pans, scissors, splints, sponges, stoves, straw, sago, salt, sardines, sausages, sauer-kraut, shoes, shoulders, spice, sugar, syrup, soap, strawberries, towels, tapioca, tea, tobacco, tongues, tin-ware, tallow, wash-tubs, washing-machines, wine and spirits, vinegar, &c. &c.

The number or amount of some of these things distributed may be judged from the following table, compiled from such sources as chanced to be accessible to the writer in San Francisco. While it makes no pretence to completeness, and of some things comprises not half the actual issues of the Commission, it may yet indicate the magnitude of a charity which is believed to be without parallel in the world.

GIVEN TO THE SOLDIERS BY THE PEOPLE, THROUGH THE
SANITARY COMMISSION.

Shirts,	456,842	Corn Starch, Farina,	
Drawers,	261,922	&c., lbs.	39,483
Socks, pairs,	231,400	Canned Meats, cans,	8,338
H'dk'fs and Towels,	546,133	Canned Fruits, cans,	123,336
Sheets,	153,331	Concentr'd Milk, lbs.,	142,446
Pillow cases,	239,063	Chocolate, Broma, &c.	
Blankets and Quilts,	91,642	lbs.,	6,970
Bedticks & Mattresses,	43,817	Dried Fruit, lbs.,	835,084
Bandages and lint, lbs.	394,958	Dried Meats, lbs.,	23,010
Fans,	26,213	Eggs, dozens,	47,212
Books and Pamphlets,	233,725	Fish, dried, lbs.,	108,402
Envelopes,	96,500	Ice, lbs.,*	1,340,000
Paper, reams,	617	Pickles, Sauer-kraut,	
Crutches, pairs,	5,963	&c., gals.,	202,928
Ale and Cider, galls.,	22,996	Sugar, lbs.,	70,333
Beef, essence, lbs.,	73,353	Tea, lbs.,	13,308
Butter and Cheese, lbs.	76,155	Vegetables, bushels,	100,561
Crackers, lbs.	196,251	Wines, Brandy &c., bot.	63,611

Some conception of the amount these figures represent may be formed by calculating the length of the wagon-train required to carry any one of the above articles, supposing each

* Only what was used at Gettysburg, and in the Western Department and South Carolina, during 1863.

team to occupy thirty feet and to take one ton, which, of the lighter articles, would be a large load. The bandages and lint alone would load a train more than a mile long,—the canned fruit would take another mile,—the dried fruit, more than two miles,—the pickles, more than five miles,—the vegetables more than ten miles!

THE HOSPITAL RECORD.

This battle-field and relief work, striking as it is, is but a smaller part of the multiform activity of the Sanitary Commission. And in this connection there is one labor whereby it strives to repay the noble services, to lighten the great sacrifices of those Northern women who have hitherto borne the heaviest burdens of the war. Pain haunts not merely the hospital bed; at home, it haunts the sleepless pillows of fond mothers and loving sisters.

A cloud of sorrow, of suspense, of apprehension hangs over all the homes of the North. After every battle, there comes an *uncertainty* harder to bear than any sorrow; and continually the pestilence that walketh in darkness is more terrible to the mother's heart than the arrow that flieth by day. Mothers can give up their sons to the grave for the cause of their Country and of Liberty. They can choke down the rebellious heart, and let a patriotic pride and a religious trust stay them amidst those bitter waters. But not to know whether son or brother be alive or dead,—to imagine him lying wounded, neglected, dying of thirst, alone midst the dismal night,—that is hard indeed to bear.

To meet this need, to lighten this sorrow, to tell mothers *where* their sons are and *how* they are, the Commission keeps a vast system of books, where it sets down the name and condition of the men in more than two hundred hospitals.

The two centres of information are Washington and Louisville. About 600,000 names and cases have been recorded in these books. And whenever a mother away in Maine, Minnesota, or Oregon wishes tidings of her son, the telegraph brings her anxious question and hurries back the answer. And like arrows come these questions, shot forth by the strong bow of

woman's love. The wire is kept quivering with the pathetic appeals of mothers, sisters, and wives. One says, "By the love you bear your own mother, tell me *where* my boy is!" Another exclaims, "only give me *some* tidings!"—*any* news is so much better than *none*. Another asks, "*Is* he dead, and *how* did he die? Is he *alive*, and where can I find him?"

"Tell me where I can find him," is often the cry. Without the guidance of this Record, it is a hopeless task to search through the endless hospitals. Sometimes friends pass through the city where he they seek for lies, going on to some other city, and come back to find that he died alone while they were vainly seeking his bed, perhaps while they were almost within sound of his dying words. (*See "The Sanitary Commission," N. Y., 1864, pp. 98 — 107.*)

"How did he die and where is he buried?" are questions answered with sad frequency by these books. If tender nursing could not save his life, the Commission records his last words, his messages, the details of his death,—all those things which friends so long to know,—then lays him decently in the grave and plants a post of lasting cedar at his head, marking his bed, that the foot of affection may find it.

To keep these books and pay the telegrams of the poor, the Commission expends \$20,000 per year. Probably the same sum of money never before bought a like amount of comfort for aching hearts. And many a home will echo the words of a gentleman in Napa City, who recently received good news from this source through Dr. Bellows, "God bless you, Doctor! and God bless the Sanitary Commission!"

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

When Florence Nightingale once passed through a hospital in the Crimea, one grateful soldier was seen to turn and kiss his pillow where her shadow had chanced to fall. Many a brave soldier in our hospitals could kiss the shadow of her whom the Commission sends to his bedside, who feeds him, or reads to him, or writes his letter home, or sits by his side to fan him and chat with him, cheering him up and making him well by her very presence. Many such Florence

Nightingales our Northern homes have sent out. They go as the embodiment of Christianity, — deriving from their Master and enshrining that all may see, the Life which is the Light of men. That light beams on all these beds of pain, shining often from faces lit with beauty and with culture, or coming perhaps from beneath the neat cap of the Philadelphia Quakeress or that of the Catholic Sister of Charity. Perchance, too, you might see by those bedsides the Daughters of Israel and others to whom the name of Christ speaks nothing of a quicker faith or a livelier hope. For, however the members of the Commission regret these divisions among men, and however they may long for the day when all things shall have been subdued unto Christ, they yet receive the bounty of the people as from the whole people, — a people so wide-spread and cosmopolitan as to be united as yet only by the bonds of a common Humanity, and a common love of Country; and the bounty thus entrusted to their hands they devote to those objects approved by all, — distributing alike, through the hands of men of every creed, to the necessities of Protestant or Catholic, Gentile or Jew. Their work is thus exactly akin with that of Florence Nightingale, a work which has made her name memorable forever.

Miss Nightingale's Notes on Nursing (*See San. Com. Bulletin*, pp. 125, 154, 216, 248, 310, &c.) have revealed the paramount importance of cheerfulness in the sick room. The Commission aims, therefore, not merely to make the hospitals sweet and clean and airy, but to fill them with sunshine by sending pictures, illustrated papers, magazines, cheerful friends, all those things which can minister to a mind diseased. "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit drieth the bones."

The amount of merriment in the hospitals passes belief. The heroism of our brave boys on the battle-field is surpassed by their patience in enduring pain, their unselfishness, their courage in facing death. The cheerfulness of the hospitals often amounts to jollity. Sometimes when the Commission finds it difficult, near the larger cities, to guard the patients from being persecuted with too much attention, the boys defend themselves with their ever ready wit. One is reported

to have said, when asked by a lady if she should not bathe his forehead, "Well, if it would accommodate you *very much*, ma'am, you may, *but it's been bathed nineteen times this morning already!*" And another, when a lady moistened his handkerchief with eologne, filled her with dismay by exclaiming, "Oh my! don't that smell bad! I don't mind it *much*, ma'am, but hav'nt you *spilt some of that medicine of yourn?*" While the Commission's work is precisely the same as that of Miss Nightingale, as far as hers went, it quite surpasses hers both in comprehensiveness and in magnitude. The child has quite outgrown the parent. The supplies distributed in the Crimea, (50,008 shirts, 6,843 drawers, 23,743 pair stockings, 253 cans preserved meats, &c.) seem small in amount when compared with the disbursements of the Sanitary Commission. The table given upon page ten of this tract but faintly indicates the magnitude of the Commission's work in one of its lines of operation.

THE BRAIN WORK.

The labors of the Commission on the battle-field, in its Soldier's Homes, and in the Hospitals, are those more immediately felt by the soldiers and seen by the citizens. Its relief sent to the poor fellows in the Richmond prisons, (\$28,000 up to the 17th of Nov. last,) continued as long as the rebel authorities permitted, was equally conspicuous. Its relief of rebel prisoners in our hands, whom it always treats like brothers and fellow-countrymen as they are, is notorious also. But its most important work is that which can never be weighed or measured, which is not merely for our country and for to-day, but for all peoples and for all time. While its preventive work is little known, there is another still less known, perhaps even more important, which will make the hand of the Commission felt on all the future.

The Commission is gathering a vast body of scientific facts as to wounds, diseases, remedies, hospitals, modes of treatment, &c., the influence of which will be felt in all future wars between civilized nations. The medical man will appreciate the importance of this work when he learns that already more than 6,500,000 cases of wounds or disease have been re-

ported during this war. The Statistical Department of the Commission is collecting facts whose influence is already felt in our armies, and by foreign nations, as it will be felt on all the future. Why the death-rate is so much higher in the west than in the east, — how many men are slaughtered by crowding the hospitals and camps, or neglecting to keep them dry and clean, — what is the effect of climate, of varied food, of night-marches, — what effects follow the use of Quinine, Morphine, Bromine, Chloroform, — what amputations always cost the patient's life, and what may be innocently undertaken, — how to head off infectious or malarious diseases, — how to deal with fever, scurvy, pneumonia, erysipelas, camp-dysentery, — how best to ventilate tents, barracks, transports, iron-clads, — how best to meet the emergencies of the battle-field, to stop hemorrhage, to handle the wounded, — how to make hospitals not "a curse to civilization," but a blessing to man, — how to locate, construct, and manage them, — these, and all similar things will be better known hereafter to all civilized nations because of these most important labors and publications of the Sanitary Commission.

It is gratifying that the constant increase of the Commission's work and usefulness is followed by a corresponding increase of popular confidence and coöperation. The past six months have poured into its coffers more money than the previous three years. And without parallel in history is that bounty of the people which, besides other magnificent contributions, has given to the Commission not less than \$12,000,000 in money and stores, more than \$4,000,000 of that amount being in cash. The Pacific coast has given nearly \$1,000,000 in money. It is estimated that California has sent \$750,000 ; Washington Territory, \$18,450 ; Oregon, \$45,000 : while Nevada's contribution is \$92,000, in gold.

These contributions, coming from all parts of the earth, from loyal Americans scattered everywhere, from Australia and China and Russia, from France and England and Ireland, from the Sandwich Islands, from every State, from almost every town of the North, and most abundantly from this whole loyal Pacific coast, — are but another manifestation of that patriotic spirit at whose prompting our countrymen pour

out their treasure and their blood, and will pour them out till we see our country's flag, free "from treason's rent and murder's stain," everywhere triumphant, the symbol of Liberty and Union.

And they whose hands bestow this bounty or distribute it to the patriot soldier's need, may hope to hear the comforting words:—

"COME, YE BLESSED OF MY FATHER, INHERIT THE KINGDOM PREPARED FOR YOU FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD: FOR I WAS AN HUNGERED AND YE GAVE ME MEAT: I WAS THIRSTY, AND YE GAVE ME DRINK: I WAS A STRANGER, AND YE TOOK ME IN: NAKED, AND YE CLOTHED ME: I WAS SICK, AND YE VISITED ME: I WAS IN PRISON, AND YE CAME UNTO ME.

"VERILY, I SAY UNTO YOU, INASMUCH AS YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME."

UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION, CALIFORNIA BRANCH.

THE ROOMS are now open at 240 Montgomery St., (S. E. corner of Pine,) San Francisco, where members of the press, gentlemen and ladies from the interior and all persons interested in behalf of the SOLDIER, are invited to call and take such "items," and gain such information as may be desired.

Office open from 9, A. M., to 4, P. M.

All communications and remittances should be addressed as above to

O. C. WHEELER, *Secretary.*

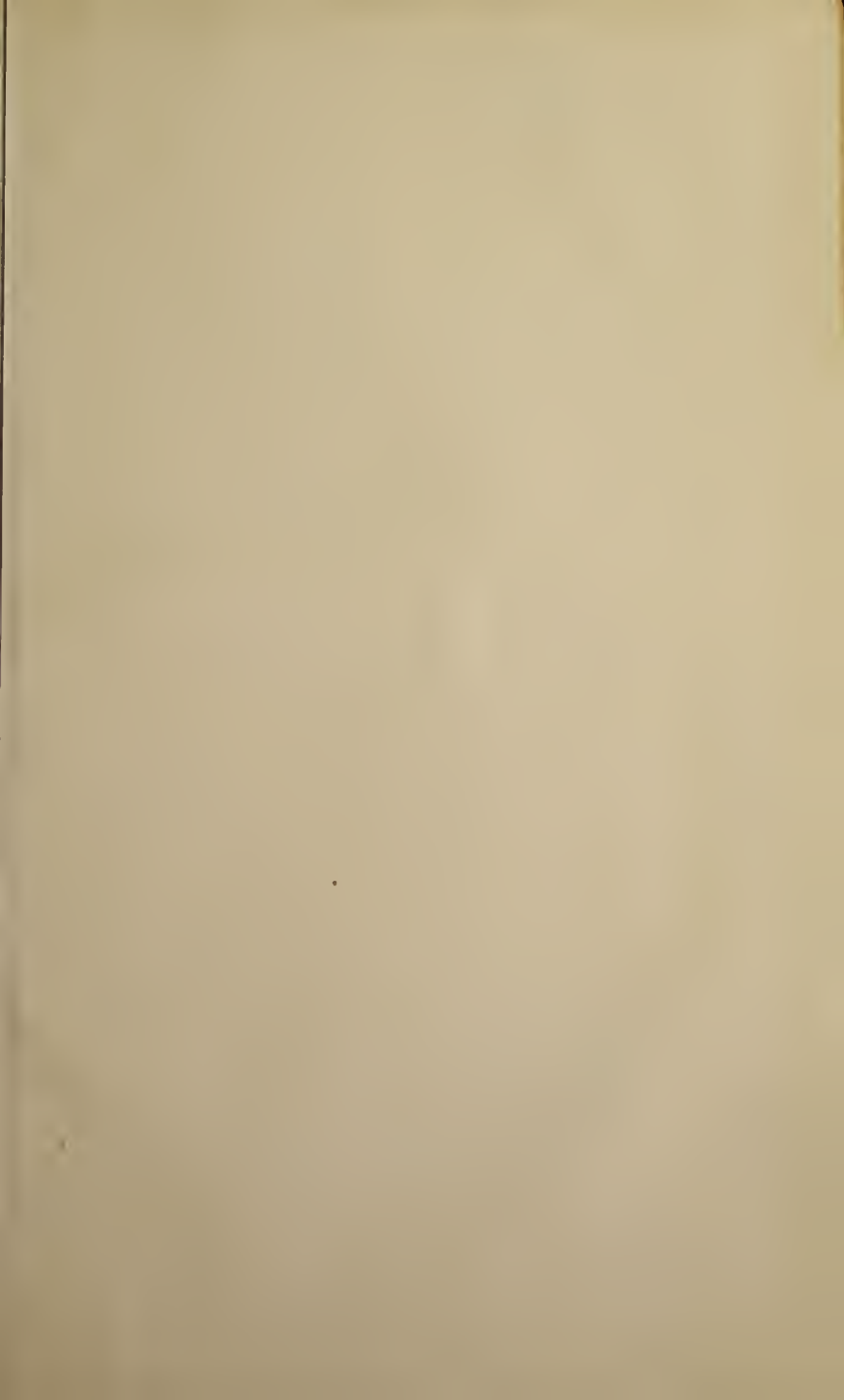
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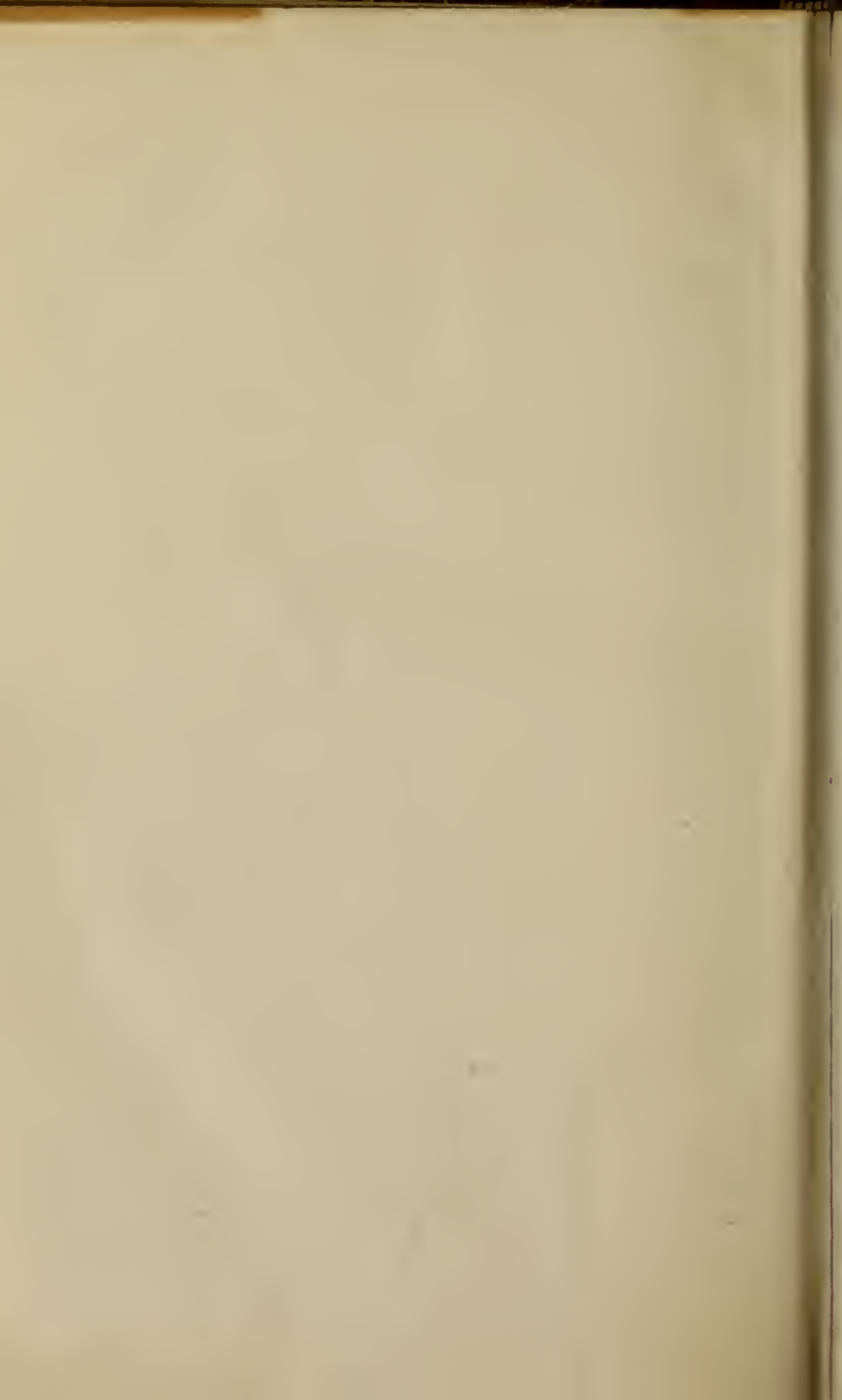
SEPT. 5, 1864.

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STATE
BOOK BINDERY.

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